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PROFESSOR A. S. TURBERVILLE

Plate I

Leeds and Parliamentary Reform, 1820-1832

By ARTHUR STANLEY TURBERVILLE, M.A.,
late Professor of Modern History, University of Leeds.

Completed by Frank Beckwith, M.A.

[Editor's note: At the time of his death, Professor Turberville had written out the first draft of about threequarters of this paper, and it has been printed substantially as it was left, although it would undoubtedly have been revised before publication. His phraseology remains untouched save for a few obvious redundancies inevitable in rapid composition, but it has been necessary to add and correct a few references; this revision owes much to the care of Dr. Richard Offor. For the remainder of the paper Professor Turberville had prepared no outline and his note-book of extracts from the newspapers has been followed as indicative of his probable plan, but for the additional matter and the actual writing of this last part he is not responsible.]

I

PROPOSALS TO GRANT PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION TO LEEDS, 1639-1832.

The significance of a generality cannot be properly understood unless it be studied in particular instances. Thus there is no better way of appreciating the great movement for parliamentary reform which culminated in the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 than by following its progress in a particular locality. The object of this short study is to trace the history of the efforts to secure the parliamentary enfranchisement of Leeds made from 1820 up to and including the first election in the new constituency.

While the big fight for parliamentary representation took place within the period named, the aspirations of the people of Leeds to receive enfranchisement were formed generations earlier. Readers of Professor Heaton's history of the Yorkshire woollen and worsted industries may remember that he quotes a petition of the Leeds Corporation presented to the king in 1639. Complaint was made that the borough of Leeds had no burgesses in Parliament "to have voice upon any occasions arising touching abuses in the matter of cloathing." No one, it was argued, could be "so apt as those who lived in the cloathing towns to experience the

conveniences or inconveniences of laws relating to cloth." Most of the clothing towns in the kingdom sent two burgesses to Parliament. Leeds was producing cloth of the annual value of £200,000, most of which was exported, it was singularly well suited for the manufacture owing to the proximity of supplies of coal and wood, there was a certainty of an increase in the trade, and yet the town had no representation in Parliament. The petitioners therefore claimed that Leeds like other clothing towns was entitled to send two burgesses to Westminster. This petition was unsuccessful, and nearly two centuries were to elapse before this legitimate ambition for enfranchisement was gratified.¹

The beginnings of the concerted movement for parliamentary reform are commonly and with good reason traced back to the career of John Wilkes, and it is a singular fact that a man morally so worthless as he should have had so beneficent an influence upon our parliamentary development. That influence was exerted in three different ways. When by adroit manipulation Wilkes brought a parliamentary privilege into collision with the privileges of the City of London in what is known as the Brass Crosby case of 1771, he sounded the death knell of the claim enforced by both Chambers of the Legislature for many years that their debates must be regarded as secret and that any reporting of their proceedings constituted an infringement of the law of Parliament. Still more significant was the persistent refusal of the House of Commons to accept Wilkes as Member for Middlesex, though he was four times elected for that constituency in 1768 and 1769, for it drew widespread attention to the fact that the representative chamber, as then constituted, cared more for its own rights than for those of the people whom it was supposed to represent. In the third place Wilkes was himself an advocate of parliamentary reform, and on 21st March, 1776, he craved leave of the House of Commons to introduce a Bill "for a just and equal Representation of the People of England in Parliament."

Wilkes' proposal was that London, containing as it did a ninth of the population of the country, Middlesex, Yorkshire, and other specially populous counties should receive an increase in their representation, that the mean and insignificant boroughs, as

¹ H. Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries* (Oxford, 1920), p. 226. There is an anonymous pamphlet of 1701 entitled *The Art of Governing by Parties* (possibly by John Toland), which advocates the representation of such towns as Leeds, Halifax, Manchester and Croydon.

emphatically styled "the rotten part of our constitution" should be lopped off and their franchise transferred to the counties and to the rich and populous trading towns such as Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, and Leeds. Lord North, the head of the Government, we are told was "very jocular" in his comments upon Wilkes' plan, expressing the opinion that the honourable gentleman was not serious. The proposition was negatived without a division.² Such was the scornful and incredulous reception of the suggestion that Leeds should be accorded parliamentary representation.

But if the idea that it would be advantageous to transfer seats from rotten boroughs to large and prosperous industrial towns was derided in the House of Commons, it was propagated with increasing effect outside the Palace of Westminster by many ardent reformers. In no English county did the reforming cause make greater headway than in Yorkshire. This was partly because the inequalities in the representative system were particularly glaring there. There were only two knights of the shire to represent as many as 16,000 extra-burghal electors, while the small town of Thirsk returned a member, though it had only 50 electors. While in the city of York there were 3,000 electors, in all the other thirteen boroughs put together there were no more than 4,000 electors. The other reason for the progress made by the reforming movement in Yorkshire was that two of the most zealous of its advocates were Yorkshiremen³—Sir George Savile of Rufford, eighth baronet, who sat continuously for the county from 1759 to 1783, and the Rev. Christopher Wyvill of Burton Hall, Constable Burton, an indefatigable worker in the cause of reform and a most prolific pamphleteer.⁴ These two men were primarily responsible for the establishment of a Yorkshire Association for the restriction of the freedom of Parliament with a plan of campaign which included economical reform, triennial parliaments, and the addition of 100 members to represent the counties.

² Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, vol. xviii, pp. 1287-97.

³ G. S. Veitch, *The Genesis of Parliamentary Reform* (1913), pp. 2-3. [Savile's activities were constantly reported in the *Leeds Intelligencer*; and in the issue for February 20th, 1770, a correspondent argued that it now seemed the proper time to demand electoral rights, which could not be called an invasion of the rights of either the crown or the legislature, for Leeds among other places had once sent members to Parliament.]

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-8.

So successful was the Association in stirring up a new popular interest in parliamentary representation that in 1780 Savile boasted, "Hitherto I have been elected in Lord Rockingham's drawing-room. Now I am returned by my Constituents."⁵

While the device to purify Parliament by an economical reform which included the abolition of many of those sinecures whereby the Government of the day was enabled to count upon a moiety of docile voters in Parliament was essentially the policy of the Rockingham Whigs and especially of Edmund Burke, Wyvill allied himself with the younger Pitt, who introduced his scheme for a reform of Parliament in April, 1785.⁶ By a majority of 284–174, leave to bring in his Bill was refused by the House of Commons. The reception of his project was not contemptuous as was that of Wilkes' proposal, but it was even more discouraging, for high hopes had been cherished by a considerable body of ardent reformers such as had not existed in the previous decade. The reformers had indeed persuaded themselves that this time they would be victorious. In support of Pitt's forthcoming measure they had arranged for numerous petitions to be presented in advance, and both the county and the city of York had been prominent in the propaganda campaign. Curiously enough, the great unrepresented cities, including Leeds, had shown no interest. They did not arouse themselves from their lethargy for some time to come; and indeed the cause of reform all over the country sustained a serious setback. The first effect of the outbreak of the French Revolution was greatly to encourage the hopes and to stimulate the energies of reformers in England; and not only were existing reforming societies such as the Society for Constitutional Information and those which had been founded to celebrate the centenary of the Revolution of 1688 greatly reinvigorated but a large number of new societies sprang into existence. Many of these English associations maintained correspondence with the French political clubs, it being assumed by some of the ardent English reformers that the French were only aiming in 1789 at doing what we had done first a century before.⁷

⁵ Stanhope, *Life of Pitt* (2nd ed., 4 vols., 1862), vol. i, p. 162.

⁶ Wyvill, *Political Papers* (6 vols., York and Richmond, 1794–1802), vol. iv, pp. 46 and 1n.

⁷ Veitch, *op. cit.*, chapter vi. [The Association's power soon declined after the fall of Lord North. *D.N.B.*, art. "Wyvill" (R.O.).]

But ere long it proved that the French revolutionaries were determined to do something a great deal more revolutionary than we had done in 1689, and the proceedings of the Revolutionary Tribunal aroused more indignation among English people than those of the Constituent Assembly had evoked enthusiasm. It was indeed felt that "Robespierre was the confutation of Rousseau"; and Burke rather than Priestley represented the sentiments of the average Englishman to the course of events across the Channel. After war broke out between Great Britain and France an era of repression set in. The reforming societies either were repressed or fell into inanition. When Charles Grey in May, 1793, moved that a petition in favour of reform promoted by the society entitled the Friends of the People should be referred to a Committee of the House of Commons, the motion was defeated by the immense majority of 282 to 41. Thus the primary effect of the French Revolution was to encourage the hopes of English political reformers; its later effect was to retard the success of their movement by forty years.⁸

Disraeli in *Coningsby* argued that in 1819 the Whigs realized "that unless some reconstruction of the House of Commons could be effected, the Whig Party could never obtain a permanent hold of official policy. Hence from that period the Whigs became parliamentary reformers."⁹ It was in that year that one of the rising hopes of the party, Lord John Russell, made his first speech in the House of Commons in favour of parliamentary reform, and he may be said to have started a persistent campaign which did not cease until the great triumph of 1832, which rewarded him and Grey for their long and uphill struggle.

On 14th March in the following year, 1820, Russell introduced a motion for the reform of Parliament. In 1818, extreme corruption in the elections at Barnstaple, Camelford, and Penryn had led to the unseating of the successful candidates for these three boroughs, and in 1819 one of the members unseated for Barnstaple, Sir Manasseh Masseh Lopes, was found guilty of corrupt practices at a previous election at Grampound and sentenced to

⁸ *Ibid.*, chapters ix-xiv; P. A. Brown, *The French Revolution in English History* (1918), chapters iv-ix.

⁹ Book II, ch. i. "In the natural course of events, in 1819, there ought to have been a change of government . . . but the Whigs . . . were unable to contend against the new adjustment of borough influence."

pay a fine of £10,000 and go to prison for two years. The effect of these incidents was to focus more than usual attention upon corrupt or rotten boroughs. In his motion Russell contrasted such places with towns and districts which had grown to great importance by reason of their trade, manufactures and population, and yet had not been admitted to Parliament. He instanced four towns—Manchester, Birmingham, Halifax and Leeds—and drew attention to their rapid progress. Leeds, for example, had had a population in 1775 of 17,117; the census figures for 1811 were 62,534.¹⁰ It was evident, he said, that such places suffered a serious inconvenience from their lack of representation. He dealt with the argument that they were represented by the members for the counties in which they were situated:

“ those members, however well inclined they may be to do their duty to their constituents, are often of different station and habits of life. They have not the knowledge requisite for stating the grievances and the wants of manufacturers. And when we consider how many questions relating to trade, to the poor laws, to the laws of combination and of particular taxes, deeply affect the manufacturers, we cannot but allow the justice of their desire to be represented.”¹¹

Russell's resolution was supported by Normanby, who expatiated upon the manifest fairness of transferring the franchise from places which had sunk from their former significance, to populous towns like Manchester and Leeds: it was, however, withdrawn.¹²

In May, 1820, Russell fathered “ a Bill to exclude the borough of Grampound from sending burgesses to Parliament, and to enable the borough of Leeds to send two burgesses to Parliament in lieu thereof.” Lord Castlereagh objected to the implications of the preamble of the Bill, which ran “ Whereas the borough of Leeds in the county of York, having of late years become a place of great trade, population and wealth, it is expedient that it should have two burgesses to serve in Parliament.” The implication was that prosperous trade and a large population constituted a criterion for parliamentary representation. Were this novel principle once accepted, every place of trade, wealth and popula-

¹⁰ In the following decennial census of 1821 the figure rose to 83,796. In 1831 it was 123,393.

¹¹ *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. xli, p. 1097.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 1109–21. [Leeds is not mentioned by Normanby, according Hansard (R.O.). See next paragraph.]

tion in the country would have grounds to claim additional representation. He computed that Russell's Bill, on the basis of a £10 qualification, would mean the granting of the vote to as many as 8,000 or even 10,000 people in Leeds. Canning regarded this figure as far too high. If the right to vote were extended to so high a proportion of the population, this would arouse such resentment elsewhere as would create discontent instead of allaying it. He also objected to the implied doctrine of the preamble; he characterised it as "wild and visionary."¹³

It became clear as the discussions on Russell's Bill proceeded that while no one was prepared to resist the proposal that Grampound should be disfranchised, there was strong opposition to the idea that the seat should be transferred to Leeds and especially on the grounds advanced by Russell. Castlereagh informed Russell that the Government was prepared to agree to the disfranchisement of Grampound provided the seat was transferred to the neighbouring hundred of Powder and Pyder. But this compromise Russell was not prepared to accept.¹⁴ "The hundreds of Cornwall," he observed with reference to this conversation, "represented the stationary policy of the ministry, Leeds the new population which I sought to admit, and with them the principle of reform." That was the whole principle at issue between the Government and the reformers. In the committee stage of Russell's Bill on 5th June, 1820, the member for Bodmin, by name Davies Gilbert, after making the same kind of objections to the proposed enfranchisement, moved as an amendment that the transfer should be to the hundreds of Powder and Pyder.¹⁵

February, 1821, found the Bill still in committee, Russell strongly objecting to Davies Gilbert's amendment. But now another proposal was brought forward—namely, that the transfer should be not to Leeds, but to the West Riding. The scruples of those members who objected on principle to the enfranchisement of a large manufacturing town simply on the ground that it was a large manufacturing town would thereby be satisfied, while indirectly the inhabitants of Leeds would be benefited. Stuart Wortley, Tory Member for Yorkshire (afterwards the first Lord

¹³ *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, new ser., vol. i, pp. 480–508. [Tierney supported Russell, strongly urging the claims of such places as Manchester and Leeds. (R.O.).]

¹⁴ Earl Russell, *Recollections and suggestions*, 1813–1873 (1875), p. 32.

¹⁵ *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, new series, vol. 1, p. 866.

Wharncliffe) did not like the idea of the transfer being made to Yorkshire. If this principle was adopted, it would mean that the whole representation would fall into the hands of the aristocracy; there would be none but county members and members for nomination boroughs. He preferred the enfranchisement of Leeds and believed that it would be advantageous to the House to have within it a representative of a great clothing centre. On the other hand in another speech in a subsequent debate he indicated that he considered that where population was high, the proportion of voters should be small. He had ascertained that if the qualification were raised from £10 to £20, every one of the rank of respectable tradesman in the town would be included, and the total number of voters would be between two and three thousand.¹⁶

Lord Milton was in favour of making Leeds a scot and lot borough, for, as he said, "the lower orders stood just as much in need of protection as persons in more exalted stations." Sir Robert Peel preferred the higher qualification. The constituents might prefer the scot and lot system, but it would not be good to allow Leeds an unlimited right of voting. "It was a great manufacturing town, and such an abstraction of the people from their habits of industry would work a great disservice."¹⁷ The debate afterwards turned upon the question whether there was reason in the allegation frequently made by the Tories that large manufacturing towns were centres of disturbance and that to enfranchise them would simply be to create unnecessary political trouble. Against this theoretical objection was brought the argument of experience—that some large manufacturing towns already possessed the parliamentary franchise, and they were tranquil. Why should not Leeds be as tranquil as they? But the majority of the House did not favour the idea of making Leeds a scot and lot borough. Stuart Wortley's amendment raising the £10 qualification to £20 was carried by a majority of 148 to 94.¹⁸ Naturally Russell felt that his Bill was being changed out of all recognition. He had originally proposed that the elective franchise at Leeds should be exercised by those who paid scot and lot; then, realizing that some members would object to so extensive a suffrage, he had proposed to confine the suffrage to householders

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1068.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1073.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1074-6; *Commons Journals*, vol. lxxvi, p. 65.

of properties of £5 value. Seeing the House still indisposed to go to that extent, he had further restricted the qualification to £10. But to raise £10 to £20 deprived the Bill of its popular character.¹⁹

But if the qualification for the voter was far from democratic, the Bill as it left the Commons was still one for transferring parliamentary representation from a hopelessly rotten borough to a great manufacturing town, from Grampound to Leeds. It did not retain that character for long after it had been brought up to the House of Lords. In the debate on the second reading the Earl of Westmorland expressed objection to the Bill *in toto*. He declared that "the principle of the measure was inconsistent with the British constitution and in direct violation of Magna Charta."²⁰ Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister, entirely approved of the disfranchisement of Grampound—if ever a case of general and systematic corruption had been proved against any borough, it was against the borough of Grampound; but he objected to the transfer to Leeds as purely arbitrary—there was no principle in it. In fact, he found so many difficulties in the idea of enfranchising Leeds that he could see no way out of them.²¹ He did not explain what these difficulties were, but no doubt the main difficulty felt by the Tory peers was the same as that felt by the Tory members of the Lower House—that if this measure were once agreed to, it meant by inference the acceptance of the principle that population constituted a ground for representation. The principle was not accepted; the two seats which Grampound forfeited were acquired by the West Riding of Yorkshire.²² Even this measure appeared to Lord Eldon to be of a dangerously revolutionary character: it would, he declared, plunge the country into "the whirlpool of democracy," and the word democracy for two or three decades yet was not a term of praise. The Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, wrote with reference to the attempt to give representation to Leeds,

"the grant of representation to large boroughs would be the greatest evil conferred on those towns; it would subject the

¹⁹ *Hansard*, new series, vol. iv, pp. 1338–9; *Commons Journal*, vol. lxxvi, p. 180.

²⁰ *Hansard*, new series, vol. v, p. 629.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 629–31.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 973–4; *Lords' Journals*, vol. liv, p. 435. [The seats were acquired by the county, not the West Riding.]

population to a perpetual factious canvass, which would divert more or less the people from their industrious habits and keep alive a permanent spirit of turbulence and disaffection . . . I believe them to be more corrupt than any other places when seriously contested; and I believe the description of persons who find their way into Parliament through those places are generally those who, from the peculiarity of their character and station, are the least likely to be steadily attached to the good order of society.”²³

Another attempt was made again, in 1828, to transfer seats to large towns. In the general election of 1826, the rotten boroughs of Penryn and East Retford were proved to have been the scenes of the most flagrant corruption. On the last day of January, 1828, Lord John Russell obtained leave to introduce a Bill to transfer the right of representation from Penryn to Manchester, and Charles Tennyson, the Member for Bletchingley, similar leave for a Bill to transfer that of East Retford to Birmingham.²⁴ These proposals produced a crisis in the Duke of Wellington’s Administration, with which we are not concerned; it is sufficient to say that they were both unsuccessful. In February, 1830, the House of Commons was still discussing what was to happen to East Retford. One suggestion was that the elective franchise should be transferred from that errant borough to the neighbouring hundred of Bassetlaw. Charles Tennyson dilated upon the absurdity of giving additional representation to a rural area already appropriately represented as part of the county of Northamptonshire, while such populous towns as Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield and Leeds had no representation at all.²⁵ Charles Arbuthnot reproduced all the old Tory argument that there was great danger in going even one step towards a general reform, and such a step the enfranchisement of a large town would be. The most pertinent speech was made by Huskisson, speaking as Member for the great commercial town of Liverpool. As such it was impossible for him to doubt, he said, the great desirability that such similar communities as those of Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, should be given the same privilege of representation in Parliament that Liverpool enjoyed already, or the value of the special knowledge which Parliament would derive from such sources.²⁶

²³ C. D. Yonge, *Life of Lord Liverpool* (3 vols., 1868), vol. iii, pp. 137–8.

²⁴ *Hansard*, vol. xviii, p. 83.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. xxii, p. 325.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 348–50.

On 23rd February the indefatigable Russell moved for leave to introduce a Bill to transfer the elective franchise from boroughs convicted of corruption to Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester.²⁷ His principal argument was that an industrial town ought to receive really appropriate representation. With the best inclinations in the world the Member for a County could not at one and the same time represent the landed interest and also attend "to the numerous and complex interests of a large manufacturing and commercial community." The consequence was that whenever matters came before the Legislature affecting such a community, instead of endeavouring to convey its views through a Member of Parliament, it was necessary for it to appoint a body of delegates to come to town and to interview His Majesty's Ministers of State. How infinitely better would it be if such towns had the ordinary regular and constitutional channels open to them for making their wishes known! To the argument that to enfranchise Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester would be to open the doors to large-scale change he answered that these three towns stood quite apart, being the capitals of the three great branches of our manufacture, and that therefore the principle which admitted them was not susceptible of extension elsewhere.

When these abortive discussions took place the Duke of Wellington's Administration had not very much longer to live. So long as it did live such discussions were bound to be unfruitful. With the entry into office of Lord Grey's government in November, 1830, the whole situation changed completely. Grey himself was an aristocrat of the aristocrats and he formed a Cabinet which was fundamentally aristocratic, all but four of its members being peers. One of them was a Tory, while such Canningites as Melbourne, Palmerston and Goderich showed no enthusiasm for the cause of Parliamentary Reform. On the other hand Russell, Brougham, and Durham, were stalwarts, the last two being essentially Radicals in opinion and masterful in temperament. Any doubts which the advocates of parliamentary reform throughout the country may have harboured as to the genuineness of the intention of the new Ministers were swept away when they produced their first Reform Bill in March, 1831. It was far more drastic and thorough-going than had been generally anticipated. As for

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 858-69.

the Tory Members of the House of Commons, they could hardly believe their ears as its chief provisions were explained to them by Russell in his opening speech, which was punctuated by their exclamations of incredulity. Between the first Reform Bill, which came to grief in the Lower House, and the second Bill, which came to grief in the Upper House, on the one hand, and, on the other, the third Bill which after some critical moments passed into law, there were no very important differences, and none that concerned Leeds. In the Act of 1832 Leeds figures among the twenty-two towns included in schedule C, which having hitherto enjoyed no parliamentary representation, were henceforth in accordance with the third clause of the statute to return two members to Westminster. There were two other towns in Yorkshire in the same list—Sheffield and Halifax.²⁸

The Act, which is entitled "An Act to amend the representation of the people in England and Wales," entirely disfranchises 56 boroughs, each having a population of under 2,000, which had hitherto returned no fewer than 111 members to the House of Commons; deprived 31 other boroughs, each with a population of under 4,000, of one of their members; as we have already seen, gave two members each to 22 large towns hitherto unrepresented; also gave one member each to 20 other towns hitherto unrepresented; established new qualifications for the voter in the county and the borough, the latter being the occupation of premises of a clear annual value of £10; and in addition included a large number of provisions dealing with the machinery of electioneering, which if less important than the more fundamental clauses, were none the less of great significance. Most important of these was the entirely new regulation that all voters must henceforth be registered and, in order to keep the register up to date, new lists must be compiled annually, and every person who was qualified to be an elector must see that he was duly registered. Other clauses related to the erection of polling booths, polling hours, and the action to be taken by the returning officer in the event of riot or disturbance during an election. Finally, the boundaries of the new constituencies were determined by an ancillary Act, which, as clause III of the main statute provides,

"when passed, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this

²⁸ 2 Wm. IV, c. 45, clause 3. [There was a third not unimportant Yorkshire town in Schedule C—Bradford.]

Act as fully and effectually as if the same were incorporated herewith."²⁹

Now in the Reform Act the electoral area of Leeds is described as that of the Borough of Leeds, but in the Parliamentary Boundaries Act it is described as that of the Parish of Leeds, and there was a discrepancy, for the borough and the parish were not coterminous. The decision in favour of the parish limits involved the exclusion of the hamlet of Coldcotes, being part of the township of Seacroft, and of the hamlets of Osmondthorpe, Skelton, and Thornes in the township of Temple-Newsam, since all four hamlets lay in the parish of Whitkirk.³⁰

For polling purposes Leeds itself was arranged in the following eight divisions—South and South-West; Mill Hill; Lower North-West; North and Upper North-East; Hightown; Kirkgate; East and North-East, and Lower North-East and South-East; Upper North-West.^{30a} The eight polling-booths decided upon by the Mayor in his capacity of Returning Officer for the 1832 election, taken in the same order, were established as follows: at 39, East Buildings, in Hunslet Lane; at the Court House, which was situated in Park Row; at the Coloured Cloth Hall in Infirmary Street; at the Free Grammar School in North Street; at the Corn Exchange; at the Assembly Rooms; at a private house just below the Sir John Falstaff in St. Peter's Square; and at 44, Coburg Street.

In addition to these divisions of Leeds proper, the outer townships were organised in six divisions, each with its polling booth. The divisions were as follows: Hunslet; Holbeck with Beeston; Wortley, Armley and Farnley forming one; Bramley; Headingley cum Burley; Chapel Allerton with Potter Newton. At Hunslet, Bramley and Headingley, school-rooms were used as polling booths; at Wortley a public house; at Holbeck the overseers' committee-room adjoining the workhouse; at Chapel Allerton an unoccupied dwelling-house.³¹

The registration of voters was one of the most important new features of the Reform Act. In the past there had been innumer-

²⁹ 2 Wm. IV, c. 45.

³⁰ 2 and 3 Wm. IV, c. 64, schedule O. See J. Wardell, *Municipal History of the Borough of Leeds* (Leeds, 1846), p. 93.

^{30a} *Leeds Mercury*, 17 Nov., 1832.

³¹ See *Leeds Mercury*, 24th November, 1832 [and more correctly, the Mayor's official notice, *ibid.*, Dec. 8 or 15 with the names of the deputies; cf. *Leeds Intelligencer*, Dec. 6]

able disputes actually on polling day as to whether a would-be voter possessed the right to vote, as, for example, in those instances which led to the celebrated case of *Ashby v. White* and the subsequent cases arising out of the Aylesbury election of 1702. Henceforth the proof of the right to vote was the fact of being on the voters' list, which was to be compiled by the overseers of the poor for every parish or township in any city or borough sending a member to serve in Parliament, giving the nature of the claim in each case, and in the case of the £10 householder vote the premises in respect of which the claim was made.³² The Act laid it down that the judges of Assize were to nominate barristers who were to revise the lists of voters. Each barrister so appointed was to hold an open court for the purpose of such revision in each constituency to which he was accredited, within certain dates specified in the Act. At the opening of the court, in the case of boroughs, the Town Clerk was to submit the list of voters for the borough. The barrister in his Court heard the claims of those who considered themselves entitled to have their names added and the objections of those who considered that certain names had been improperly added to it, and the barrister was empowered to insert or exchange names according to his judgment based upon evidence brought before the court.³³

For Leeds, Knaresborough and Ripon, a barrister named Wilkinson Mathews was appointed to undertake these duties, and his court, held in the Leeds Court House, was kept busy for eighteen days between October 24th and November 13th. The *Leeds Mercury* and the *Leeds Intelligencer*, but especially the latter, both reported the proceedings at some length. The case which seems to have aroused most interest was the claim of the forty-three joint owners of the Allan Bridge Mill at Pudsey Town End. In accordance with clause XVIII of the Reform Act, if it could be substantiated that the clear annual value of the property was not less than £430, each of the owners would be entitled to vote. Widely different valuations of the mill were forthcoming, the Tories who contested the claim urging that the

³² Clause 44.

³³ Clauses 49 and 50. The Thoresby Society possesses a copy of *List of voters, entitled to vote in the Borough of Leeds in respect of property occupied in the said borough, comprising the several townships of Leeds . . . by virtue of the Act of 1832*—as revised by Wilkinson Mathews, Esq., Barrister. Leeds, 1832.

value of the machinery inside the mill should not be counted in the estimate. Ultimately, Wilkinson Mathews found in favour of the forty-three owners. There was great jubilation in Pudsey and Bramley over this decision, many of the clothiers marching into Leeds displaying the orange flags of Whiggism and accompanied by a band. At night Allan Bridge Mill was brilliantly illuminated.³⁴

When the court first met, the *Leeds Mercury* expressed its satisfaction at finding that Mr. Mathews was showing a disposition, in the true spirit of the Reform Bill, rather to enfranchise than to disfranchise voters, and, alleging that the Tories were deliberately endeavouring to secure the removal from the list of as many of their opponents as possible on one pretext or another, predicted that they were going to be badly disappointed.³⁵ The Tories claimed that in the end they had been more successful than the Whigs. According to them, 272 of their claims and 129 of their objections had been allowed, as against 217 claims and 81 objections of their adversaries. The Whigs, however, also claimed that the proceedings were a triumph for them—that they scored 473 “good votes” to Sadler’s 243, and had only 124 bad votes to Sadler’s 194, giving them an advantage of 230.³⁶ Whichever side derived most party advantages from Mr. Mathews’ decisions, clearly they were both entirely satisfied with them and with his conduct of the business. Speaking on behalf of both parties, Hall thanked the presiding barrister for the very able, patient, and impartial manner in which he had conducted this laborious and important investigation. There had been no previous decisions in law, no precedents to guide him in his task, political feeling had been very warm; yet there had been complete satisfaction. It was impossible to compare Mr. Mathews with his predecessors because he had had none, but he was confident that he would compare very favourably with any of his successors.

The Barrister’s Court having concluded its business and the voters’ list having been brought into its final shape, the stage was set for Leeds’ first parliamentary election. Thomas Tennant, the Mayor, in his capacity as Returning Officer, arranged that the election should commence at 10 a.m. on Monday, 10th December,

³⁴ *Leeds Mercury*, 10th and 17th November, 1832 [cf. “The song of Triumph” below.]

³⁵ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 15th November, 1832.

³⁶ *Leeds Mercury*, 17th November, 1832.

in the yard of the Coloured Cloth Hall. In the event of a poll being demanded and deemed necessary, the poll would be open on Wednesday, 12th December, from 9 a.m. till 4 p.m., and on the following day from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. Only in the event of obstruction due to riot or other open violence would the poll be continued beyond that time, and, on the assumption that voting would be concluded on the Thursday, the result would be announced at the Coloured Cloth Hall at 10 a.m. on Friday, 14th December.

II

THE MOVEMENT FOR PARLIAMENTARY REFORM IN LEEDS,
1820-1832.

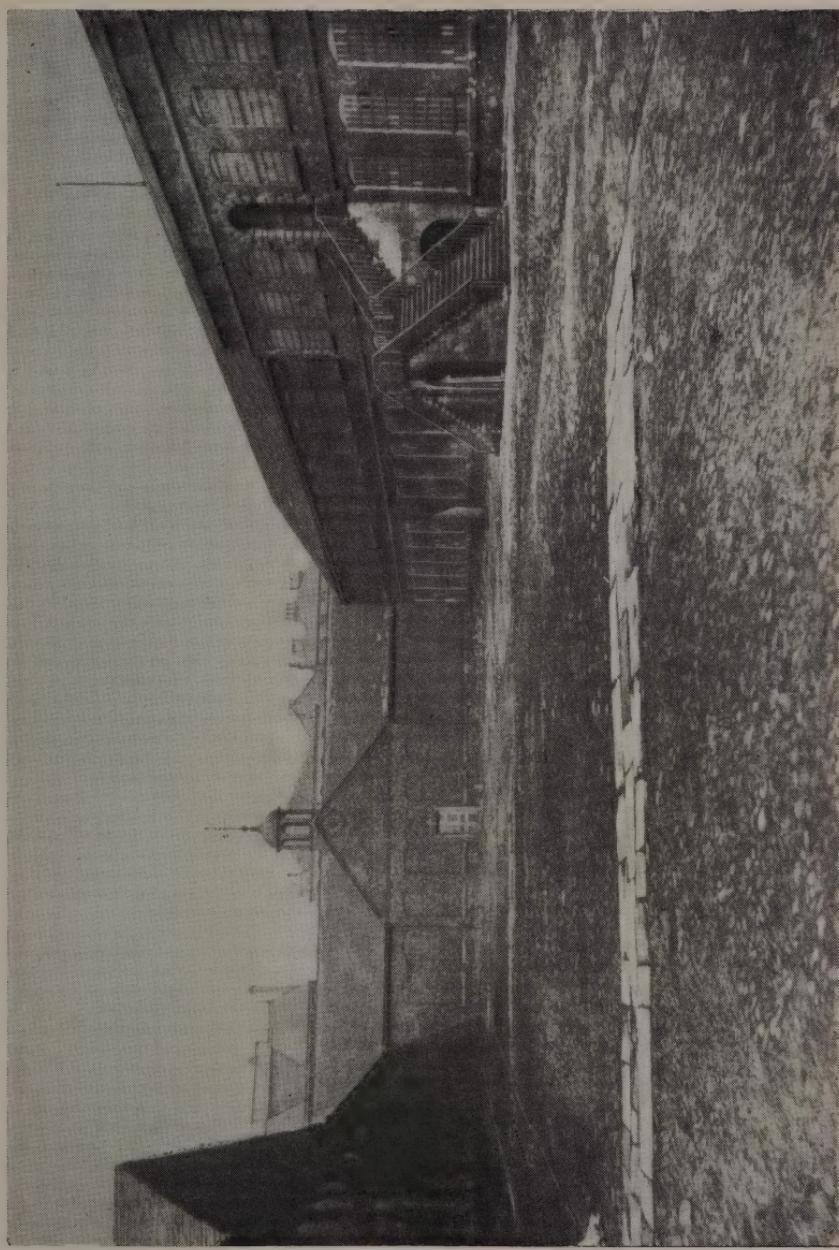
Of necessity, our principal source of information regarding the political movements in Leeds in the early nineteenth century is the local press. Moreover, the two leading newspapers took a very active part in organising agitation. An account of the struggle of parties and principles inside the town, therefore, may fittingly start with a few observations regarding the newspapers.

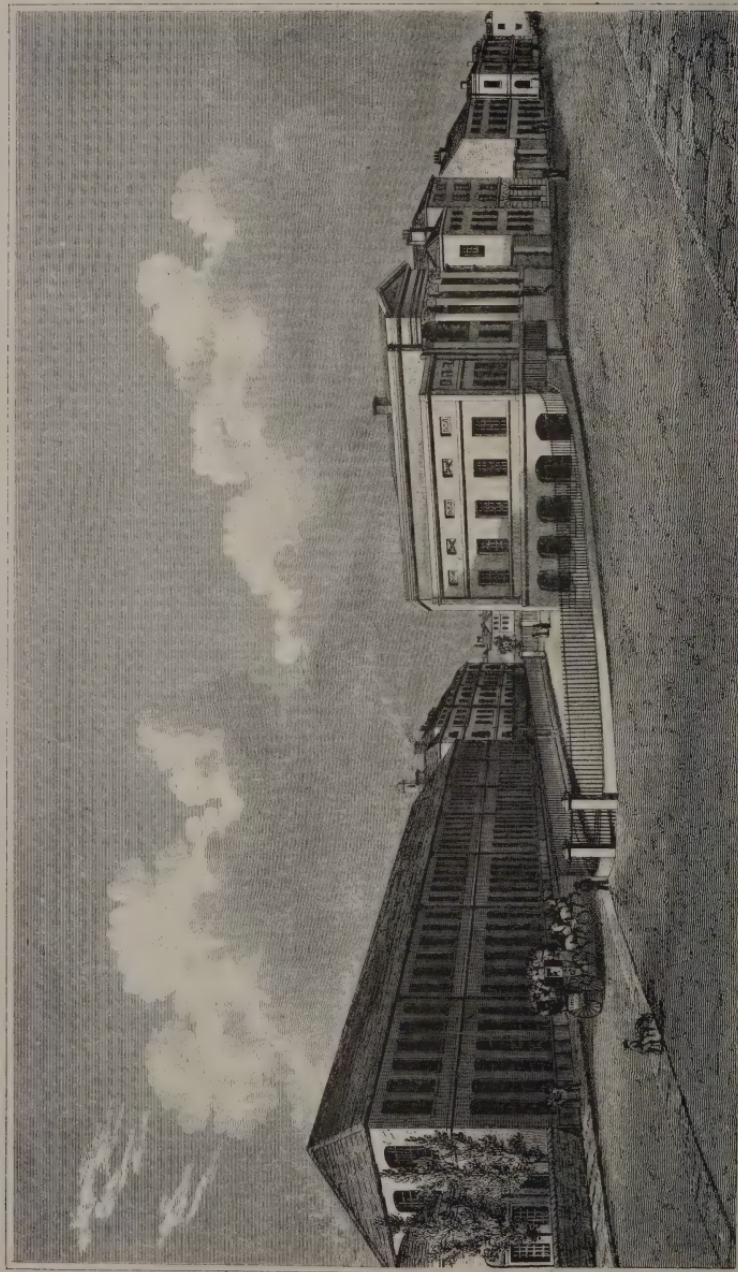
The oldest, the *Leeds Mercury*, which dates from 1718, ran till 1755, when it was discontinued, and was restarted in 1767. Originally a Whig organ, under the influence of the French Revolutionary War it became Tory in tone until in 1801 it passed into the control of that remarkable journalist, Edward Baines, who, as newspaper editor, speaker, and publicist, took as prominent a part in politics as any inhabitant of Leeds during the period with which we are concerned. Several reformers in the town, being anxious that their views should receive adequate expression in the press, were anxious to obtain control over the *Mercury*. Among the prime movers was John Marshall, the wealthy flax-spinner, whose return as one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of York in 1826 is a notable event in parliamentary history, since it was an early sign of a new era when a manufacturer secured a position which had hitherto been the preserve of members of the nobility and the squirearchy.³⁷ The man who actually picked upon Baines as the most suitable editor for the *Mercury* was James Bischoff, one of the most prominent

³⁷ A. Gooder, *The Parliamentary representation of the County of York; 1258-1832* (2 vols., Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1935-38), vol. ii, pp. 155-6.

MIXED CLOTH HALL YARD

Plate 11





CLOTH HALL, COURT HOUSE, ETC.

of the woollen manufacturers in Leeds.³⁸ The money necessary for obtaining control of the paper was put up by Marshall, Bischoff, and three others. In 1801 Baines became editor of the *Mercury*. Under his able direction it became the most influential paper in Leeds, and one of the most influential Whig papers in the whole country.³⁹

The *Leeds Intelligencer* was founded in the middle of the eighteenth century. It was a thorough-paced Tory paper, maintained at the opening of the new century, in the words of the biographer of Edward Baines, in the spirit of the *Anti-Jacobin*, and towards both reformers and dissenters "contemptuous, virulent, and insulting."⁴⁰

Thirdly, there was the *Leeds Patriot*, much less influential than the other two and with but a small circulation. At the time of the Reform Bill it was under the control of John Foster. In the year 1829 he was involved in a vendetta with a previous proprietor, Christopher Fothergill, who accused Foster of ruining the paper, its weekly circulation having fallen from the small but respectable figure of 1,600 to the miserably small figure of 600. The *Patriot* espoused similar political views to those of William Cobbett and must be esteemed on the whole Radical. A fourth Leeds paper may be briefly mentioned, the *Leeds Independent*. It was less political than the other three. Its views were Tory, but they were not expressed with the vigour and gusto of the *Intelligencer*; apart from comment in the editorial columns not much space was devoted to political events, and a rather large percentage of its articles were reprints from other Journals.

Leeds having no parliamentary representation of its own, the ardent politicians in the town devoted their thoughts and energies to the county elections. From 1784 till 1812 Yorkshire honoured herself by sending to Westminster one of the greatest of her sons, William Wilberforce. His colleague in 1796 and 1802 was Henry Lascelles, afterwards the third Earl of Harewood, who withdrew in 1806, Walter Fawkes, of Farnley Hall, the friend of Turner, being returned in his place. In the following year he was

³⁸ R. V. Taylor, *Leeds Worthies (Biographia Leodiensis)* (Leeds, 1865), pp. 409-11.

³⁹ *Life of Edward Baines*, by his son (Leeds, 1851), pp. 37-47. [Actually eleven men lent the necessary capital to Baines, who himself noted the fact that many of them were Unitarians.]

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

the unsuccessful candidate in what remains one of the most celebrated and most hotly contested contests in the history of the county, Lord Milton, afterwards the third Earl Fitzwilliam, being returned together with Wilberforce. Milton was also successful in the next four county elections, his partner in 1812 being Henry Lascelles, in 1818 and 1820 Stuart Wortley, who in 1826 went to the Upper House as Baron Wharncliffe. When next there was an election, in July, 1826, Yorkshire had acquired the right to send four members to Parliament. Together there were elected Fitzwilliam, William Duncombe, a strong Tory, equally opposed to Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, Richard Fountayne Wilson,⁴¹ a generous benefactor of Leeds, whose views were similar to Duncombe's, and John Marshall, who was essentially a townsman. This 1826 election is, indeed, important in the history of Leeds, since two of the knights of the shire had a close association with the town. It was noteworthy also because two of the members were advocates of parliamentary reform—Marshall and Milton, who had become a convert to the cause since his previous election. Marshall's entry into the political arena is a significant event in the history of representation: he belonged to the new class of rich manufacturer, and undoubtedly the most significant feature of the election was the fact that he now held a position which had hitherto been the preserve of the landed interest.⁴² Leeds was taking a bigger part in politics and the reformers were beginning to make headway.

Toryism had been well intrenched heretofore. There had, indeed, been formed in 1817 a society named the Leeds Union for Parliamentary Reform.⁴³ The *Leeds Mercury* having thrown all its weight on the side of the house of Wentworth against that of Harewood in the tremendous electoral battle of 1807, Baines had enjoyed the satisfaction of tasting victory in that Whig effort and the probably still greater triumph of helping to unmask Oliver the spy some years later.⁴⁴ But the prevailing sentiment of the town appears to have been Tory. At any rate there was little sympathy for the cause of Catholic Emancipation, and the

⁴¹ *Biographia Leodiensis*, pp. 426-8.

⁴² Gooder, *op. cit.*, ii, p. vi.

⁴³ W. Parson and W. White, *Annals, History and Guide to Leeds and Yorkshire* (2 vols., Leeds, 1830), vol. 1, p. 251.

⁴⁴ *Life of Edward Baines*, pp. 64, 93.

Leeds Mercury, commenting upon enthusiasm for it in 1828, admits that fifteen years before its opponents had met with scarcely any opposition.⁴⁵ The principal exponents of Toryism in the town were banded together in the Pitt Club, at whose annual dinner many loyal and patriotic toasts were drunk, to the immortal memory of the Pilot who weathered the Storm, to the Navy and the Army, and to the institutions which had made England great. The *Leeds Intelligencer*, when Lord John Russell proposed the transfer of representation from Grampound to Leeds, strongly disapproved of such an idea.⁴⁶ Local patriotism did not in any way mitigate the Tory's constitutional objection to the representation of a manufacturing community.

The Leeds Corporation in the period between Waterloo and the passing of the great Reform Bill was an essentially Tory body. Among the Mayors were such stalwart members of the Tory party as Henry Hall (Mayor in 1825), Christopher Beckett, who held office in 1819 and in 1829, Thomas Beckett (Mayor in 1826), Benjamin Sadler (1822), and Thomas Tennant (1823 and 1832).⁴⁷ Hall, the Becketts, and the two Sadlers, Benjamin and Michael, were particularly prominent members of the Pitt Club. This Club owed its original inspiration to Pitt's leadership of the nation in its years of peril, especially in 1804, and it was at its strongest in the immediate post-war years. As time went on, the early stimulus inevitably diminished, and it appears that in the eighteen-twenties the Radicals were accustomed to predict that the Pitt Club in Leeds would become extinct. But at the annual dinner in May, 1827, we find the members of the Club triumphantly boasting that whereas year after year their opponents had made this prophecy, year after year the great dinner was duly held and this year the Club had eleven new members.⁴⁸ The *Leeds Intelligencer* gives full particulars of the great Tory May festival each time it comes round, but it would appear that after 1827 the Club was less prosperous, and the month of May, 1832, was not one which could afford satisfaction to any Tory—indeed the "days of May" have become famous as a synonym for the dangers of revolu-

⁴⁵ *Leeds Mercury*, 13th December, 1828.

⁴⁶ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 14th and 21st May, 1821.

⁴⁷ Wardell's *Municipal History of the Borough of Leeds* (1846), Appendix, clvii.

⁴⁸ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 31st May, 1827.

tion. It is noteworthy that, while many, and perhaps indeed most, of the things celebrated and admired in the speeches delivered to the Pitt Club dinners were those which posterity has regarded as being among the great achievements of the nation, and in which every patriot must take the liveliest satisfaction, it was in the eyes of the *Leeds Mercury* the very head and front of Michael Sadler's offending that he had long been one of the keenest members of the Club, an avowed admirer of Pitt. To the *Leeds Mercury*, Pitt was no hero and the country's achievements in the Napoleonic Wars no cause for pride. But it has to be remembered that the Pitt Club in Leeds was *par excellence* the Tory association in Leeds and that its members were professed admirers not only of Pitt but of Castlereagh, and that while the greatness of Castlereagh is no longer a matter of dispute, to every Whig in the eighteen-twenties his name was detestable—synonymous in his eyes, together with that of Sidmouth, with reaction and repression.

From 1830 to 1832 the question of parliamentary reform overwhelmed all others; in the preceding years the political issues which appear to have excited most interest in Leeds were those of the Corn Laws, Roman Catholic Emancipation, and foreign trade policy.

A brief period of prosperity in 1825 was followed by an acute economic and currency crisis, which had important repercussions upon our banking system. That there was widespread distress among the labouring classes was clear. The question of the effect exercised by the Corn Law system upon the condition of the operatives was one upon which there continued to be, as there had been ever since 1815, a sharp division of opinion. Benjamin Gott and Edward Baines were convinced that a policy of free trade and total Corn Law repeal was necessary. Tories like the Sadlers believed that some modification of the Corn Law system would suffice.⁴⁹ The moderate but conservative-minded *Leeds Independent* realized that any rise in the price of bread would be disastrous.

"We must do the manufacturing poor the justice to say, that they have borne and still continue to bear their privations with admirable patience and fortitude,"

⁴⁹ *Life of Edward Baines*, p. 135.

admitted that paper on May 23rd, 1826.⁵⁰ On 11th November, 1826, a general meeting of the inhabitants of Leeds was held, under the presidency of the Mayor, to consider the desirability of petitioning for a repeal of the Corn Laws.⁵¹ A Member of Parliament, Bennett, the Member for Wiltshire, paid Leeds a pretty compliment with reference to this meeting. The question, he said, had been discussed with temper and moderation, and

“several gentlemen had argued it with a degree of talent and information which would not have disgraced the best speakers in the House of Commons.”

Copies of the petition were placed in the Court House and at the newspaper offices. Nearly 5,000 signatures were obtained. The *Leeds Intelligencer* scoffed at this number; the *Mercury* retorted that never before had a petition been sent from the borough of Leeds with half that number of signatures obtained without canvass. The petition was presented by Lord Harewood in the House of Lords, by Lord Milton in the House of Commons.⁵²

The Corn Law system was to continue for many a long day and to be regarded by the working classes in the northern manufacturing towns as one of their greatest grievances, if not the greatest of all. At a meeting of working men held on Woodhouse Moor on 8th July, 1829, the chief speakers attributed the miseries of the operatives largely to the wide-spread use of machinery, but most of all to the Corn Laws, an even greater evil. On this occasion a resolution was adopted,

“that the persons assembled pledge themselves to abstain from the use of milk and butter, until the former shall be sold at three half-pence per quart and the latter at eightpence per pound. The abstinence to be observed for one year.”

The speakers were ignorant and absurd, still obsessed by the Luddite fallacy that the use of machinery made for unemployment; yet it is strange that there was apparently only one man present at this meeting gifted with sufficient intelligence to object to this ridiculous resolution which must inevitably inflict more damage upon those who adopted it than on any one else, and which certainly could not in any way weaken the future of the Corn

⁵⁰ *Leeds Independent*, 23rd May, 1826.

⁵¹ *Leeds Mercury*, 2nd December, 1826. [*Leeds Intelligencer*, 16 November, 1826.]

⁵² *Leeds Mercury*, 2nd, 9th, 16th, 23rd December, 1826.

Law system: the resolution, he pointed out, would merely embarrass the small tradesman. He counselled the meeting to concentrate attention on the subject of reform and the abolition of sinecures.⁵³

The question of Roman Catholic Emancipation must have occasioned strong feelings in 1828 wherever political and religious feeling ran high, as it appears to have done in Leeds. The efforts of the Emancipationists prior to 1827 had been so uniformly unsuccessful that the Tories had ceased to feel disquiet on the subject. The *Leeds Independent* in 1825 was unctuously happy in "the tranquil and prosperous condition of Ireland," and found satisfaction in the thought that the lot of Roman Catholics in the British Isles generally was superior to that of their co-religionists in other countries because they had the advantage of living among Protestants!⁵⁴ If such equanimity was widespread it boded ill for the success of those who sought to relieve the Roman Catholics from their political disabilities. However, in May, 1828, Burdett carried his motion in favour of relief. Despite many disappointments, as the *Leeds Mercury* put it, there was now reason for hope; the bigoted and confirmed enemies of emancipation were giving place to a new and more liberal generation.⁵⁵ A few days after this sentiment had been expressed in an editorial on 17th May, the paper alluded darkly to the evil machinations of the Pitt Club, those "old, battered, worn-out cabals for the dissemination of political and religious animosities"; they were, said the *Mercury*, doing their utmost "to stem the stream of justice and liberality."⁵⁶

Up and down the country those who regarded the emancipation of the Roman Catholics as the worst of evils, as a betrayal of Protestantism and of the British Constitution, had been organizing Brunswick Clubs for the support of the constitution as it had been established by the Act of Settlement. One of these clubs was inaugurated in Leeds on 10th November.⁵⁷ The Mayor was in the chair, and the principal speeches were delivered by Alderman Hall, Alderman Sadler, and the Vicar of Leeds, the Rev. Richard Fawcett. By this time Wellington and Peel had been converted to the cause of emancipation, if only because of

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 11th July, 1829.

⁵⁴ 19th July, 1825.

⁵⁵ 17th May, 1828.

⁵⁶ 24th May, 1828.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 15th November.

the threatening situation in Ireland, and many Tories were extremely perturbed. Hall spoke of the necessity of waking up from dreams of false security, seeing that Ministers in whom they had put their trust were deserting their posts, and the fundamental laws of the constitution were in danger of being abandoned. Sadler, in an ecstasy of bigoted apprehension, described Roman Catholicism as "a false, bloody and blasphemous religion." The *Leeds Mercury* observed with satisfaction that those who attended the inaugural meeting of this "Association on Protestant Principles" were those who had been well known all their lives as "No Popery men"; they did not appear to have made any new converts.

The advocates of Catholic Emancipation in the town arranged a meeting at which it was proposed to move for an address to be presented to the King on the subject. Over 400 persons signed a requisition to the Mayor for the summoning of this meeting, which took place on 5th December. Three hundred of the requisitionists assembled in the Court Hall, from whence they made their way to the yard of the Coloured Cloth Hall. The Brunswickers had arranged a counter-demonstration. Those who had organized the manifesto in favour of emancipation had decided that no banners should be carried in procession; the Brunswickers, not regarding themselves as bound by this self-denying ordinance, marched to the Cloth Hall flourishing many banners. John Marshall, the member for the county, presided at the meeting, the text of his speech being that the days when Popery was synonymous with arbitrary power were long past. The chief orator for the Brunswickers was Henry Hall. He maintained that the terms of the projected address were an insult to the sovereign. Hall was supported by Galland, a Methodist minister, whom the *Mercury* describes as the most unpopular minister of his denomination in Leeds.⁵⁸ The resolution that the address should be presented was, according to the *Mercury*, carried by acclamation. It was to the effect that so far from attachment to the throne being abated, or the principles upon which it was based being shaken,

"by granting an extension of civil rights to all classes of his Majesty's subjects, without regard to their religious opinions, that measure would promote union among the people."

As the resolution was being put, a shower of stones or other

⁵⁸ *Leeds Mercury*, 13th December, 1828.

missiles descended from the roof of the Cloth Hall upon those assembled in the yard, these being thrown, according to the *Mercury*, by hooligan Brunswickers and directed solely against the Emancipationists.⁵⁹

The number of those who assembled in the Cloth Hall yard was variously computed at between 15,000 and 25,000; the *Mercury* thought that the correct figure was about 16,000 or 18,000. The total number was of less importance than the relative strengths of the two parties represented in the yard. The *Mercury* admitted that the Brunswickers, intent on giving the impression that they had the larger following, "had an excellent discipline established amongst their troops, and that their banners were managed with military skill."⁶⁰ Therefore more significant than the demonstration of 5th December were the petitions for and against Roman Catholic relief subsequently presented to Parliament by the Emancipationists and the Brunswickers respectively. The signatories secured by the former totalled 15,900; those secured by the Brunswickers were 9,800.⁶¹

Naturally political questions which affected the primary industries of the towns were of interest to the leading business men. On January 27th, 1827, one finds a general meeting of merchants, manufacturers and machine-makers being held under the presidency of the Mayor, at that time Thomas Beckett, at which Benjamin Gott proposed a resolution, which was carried unanimously, that

"this meeting considers the export of machinery impolitic and unjust, because it will enable foreigners to avail themselves of the natural advantages of this kingdom, and of the skill and experience of the British mechanics without any equivalent."⁶²

The *Leeds Mercury*, while reluctant to admit any exceptions to the principles of free trade, considered that in this instance a departure from them was necessary. One is interested to find one correspondent objecting very strongly to this sentiment, and informing the editor that such a policy was both absurd and impolitic—absurd because it was impracticable, and impolitic because the export of machinery was a particularly valuable form

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 6th December.

⁶⁰ *Leeds Mercury*, 13th December, 1828.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, 3rd February, 1827. [*Leeds Intelligencer*, 1st February, 1827.]

of trade.⁶³ Woollen manufacturers in 1828 were agitated in mind regarding the possibility of an increase in the duty on foreign wool. A meeting was held on 26th April—the Mayor, Thomas Blayds, presiding—at which it was resolved, on the motion of John Gott, to petition against any increase, and a committee was appointed under Gott's chairmanship, which later sent up deputies, including J. Bischoff, junior, and others, to give evidence before a Committee of the House of Lords.⁶⁴

It was no doubt especially when Parliament was concerned with economic questions which closely touched such an industrial community as Leeds that there was borne in upon its inhabitants the obvious advantages of being able to send up to Westminster not occasional deputies from a particular industry to give evidence before a particular parliamentary committee, but representatives of the town as such to be themselves members of the House of Commons. As we have already seen, the election of John Marshall as one of the Knights of the Shire for the West Riding of Yorkshire was a really momentous event. It was the Tory contention that the people of Leeds would be wise to content themselves with this measure of representation. Typical of this point of view is an article in *Blackwood's*,⁶⁵ in which "the sagacious and long-headed freeholders of that wealthy place" were congratulated on having shown themselves insensible of the kindness with which some had wished to endow them; and had "proved themselves to be vigilant and efficient guardians of the privileges and interests of the town of Leeds," since had the franchise been conferred upon Leeds instead of the West Riding, the freeholders of the town would have been degraded, would have sunk to the level of political equality with "a corrupt and seditious mob, would have beheld the interests of the place" sacrificed by a faction, or sold by a venal multitude. They had preferred to retain their station by the side of the independent freeman in the Castle Yard at York rather than consort with the "venal multitude in the Town Hall of Leeds." The Whig point of view is excellently summarised in an article contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* by Macaulay, his argument being that "the higher and middling orders are the

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 27th January.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 9th August, 1828.

⁶⁵ Vol. xxv, pp. 670-1. [The West Riding did not in fact itself return members, but undoubtedly had an increasingly predominant influence in the county elections in this decade.]

natural representatives of the human race," even if their interests may be opposed in some things to those of their poorer contemporaries—on which view it has been commented that it is "surely a superb theoretical basis for any structure of class tyranny."⁶⁶ There was a third attitude to the question of parliamentary reform—that of the Radical. For him the working-man stands in the forefront of the picture; it is chiefly because of his misfortunes that reform is needed, since without that reform he can look for no relief. A leading article in the *Leeds Patriot* in September, 1829, referring to distress among operatives in Spitalfields and Lancashire, reminds the reader that the paper has long predicted that similar troubles were to be expected in Yorkshire, and points to disturbances in Barnsley as evidence that they have come. The *Times*, the *Morning Chronicle*, and the *Mercury*, have been talking about the country's prosperity, but they cared more for flattering unction than for sober, honest truth. At last, however, every man's eyes must be opened. There was only one course for the workers to pursue. They must demand reform of that Parliament which alone was answerable for their miseries. A reformed Parliament would protect the industry of Englishmen by returning to a system of wholesome restrictions on the importation of foreign goods, and would send the ignorant Free Traders about their business.⁶⁷

The *Leeds Patriot* was a Radical-Tory mixture. It may seem an odd amalgam, a contradiction in terms, but the mixture is by no means uncommon, and Disraeli was to show how valuable the combination could be to the Conservative party when he preached the virtues of Tory Democracy. Cobbett was the Tory democrat of the eighteen-twenties, and Cobbett, much lionised by the *Patriot*, paid a visit to Leeds at the beginning of 1830 and delivered three lectures on 23rd, 25th and 26th January, in the Theatre, on the causes of the present distress and the appropriate remedies. The demagogue's appearance, says the *Patriot*, seemed to astonish some of his audience, who, believing him to be a Jacobin, had assumed that he must necessarily look a monster. He gave good measure, speaking on the first occasion for an hour and three-quarters. His main theme was that the cause of distress was not the poor law or the Corn Laws or surplus popula-

⁶⁶ J. R. M. Butler, *The Passing of the Great Reform Bill* (1914), p. 262.

⁶⁷ *Leeds Patriot*, 5th September, 1829.

tion or surplus production, but simply arbitrary changes in the value of money unaccompanied by any corresponding reduction in taxation, and the free trade policy of Huskisson.⁶⁸

On the evening of Monday, 14th September, 1829, the Radicals held a Reform meeting in a room opposite the Free Market Tavern. The room, which was capable of accommodating 400 people, was crowded almost to suffocation, and hundreds were unable to gain admission. The chair was taken by James Mann, a bookseller, whose shop was in the Market, and who for many years was the leader of the Radical movement in Leeds. He, like Foster, the editor of the *Patriot*, who took a prominent part at this meeting, based his argument for parliamentary reform upon the social conditions prevalent in the county. It had once been happy and prosperous—now an immense number of its people were famishing. This state of things he ascribed to the corruption of an unrepresentative Parliament, and the weight of taxation. Edward Baines was present at the meeting. He provoked an uproar by rebuking the chairman for his conduct of the business, informing Mann, when he put a resolution from the chair, that as chairman he ought not to put resolutions. He also made a speech, in which he adjured those responsible for the meeting not to meet in holes and corners, but in public, not to try to conduct a separate movement, but to combine with other reformers; if only they were all united, ultimate success was assured.⁶⁹

Baines did not approve of the Radicals at all, and it is with obvious spleen that a leading article in the issue of his paper a few days later announces that

“on the whole it appears to us that the Radical Reformers have very much fallen off in Leeds both in numbers and in talent,”

and that

“though they may, and would no doubt, act efficiently with others (if they would lay aside their peculiar dogmas) they are, as they exist in this place at present, wholly unfit to take the lead in the promotion of any great national measure.”⁷⁰

⁶⁸ There is a full account of the lectures in the issue of the *Leeds' Patriot* for 30th January, 1830 [and in the other Leeds papers of the week].

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 19th September, 1829.

⁷⁰ *Leeds Mercury*, same date. [For years Baines and the Radicals had been on the friendliest terms, but from this time forth they parted company—the disapproval was mutual—until by 1832 the Radicals are found in firm alliance with the Tories.]

By "peculiar dogmas" the *Mercury* no doubt alluded to the programme which Mann announced at the meeting on the 14th—universal suffrage, the ballot, and annual parliaments. It must be admitted that the character of some of the Radical meetings was not such as to invite the confidence of level-headed people. There was, for example, a meeting held on 28th September, which soon became completely disorderly. Mann adjourned it and then a man named Smithson, described by the *Patriot* as "the infidel spouter," moved that the chair be taken by one Benjamin Taylor, who, we are told, was one of the leading disciples of Richard Carlile in the town. The *Patriot* asserts that Smithson was "received with the most vivid demonstration of execration by a number of those present," but that he endeavoured to overpower this hostile reception by "his own vociferous observations," thereby provoking a scene of "indescribable confusion."⁷¹

On 3rd October the *Mercury* reported with great satisfaction that the Leeds Radicals had "wisely determined to discontinue their weekly meetings," and had "called upon those in the more wealthy classes, who are favourable to reform, to petition for this important measure." Baines evidently thought that the Radicals had acquiesced in the view that it was expedient for the working men to leave the direction of the reform movement to those better off than themselves, and that no more would be heard of those political nostrums which made particular appeal to the Radical mind. "We think the disposition thus evinced is much to be commended," was the editorial comment.⁷²

But these rejoicings were premature. On 18th March, 1830, a public meeting was held, with John Marshall in the chair, to petition Parliament in favour of retrenchment and reform. "The meeting was conducted with the utmost propriety and good temper, notwithstanding the distress under which some of the working classes are labouring," reported the *Leeds Mercury*. But the appearance of complete unity of policy and purpose which Baines was endeavouring to promote was spoilt by the introduction, by Foster, editor of the *Patriot*, of an amendment to the petition as drafted by the organisers of the meeting to the effect

⁷¹ *Leeds Patriot*, 3rd October, 1829. [Carlile was the author of *An effort to set at rest some little disputes and misunderstandings between the Reformers of Leeds, 1821.*]

⁷² *Leeds Mercury*, same date.

that there should be a specific declaration that the reform prayed for should include universal suffrage and the ballot, and a limitation of the life of a parliament to three years. This amendment the *Mercury* describes as "a foolish and factious attempt to divide the assembly."⁷³ It was defeated, but the significant thing is that it was put, which meant that the Radicals in Leeds had by no means decided to relinquish their own conception of reform in favour of the Whig scheme, favoured by Edward Baines. The Leeds petition, with 13,850 signatures, was forwarded to London on 3rd April,⁷⁴ and there is no doubt that the great majority of Leeds people who were actively interested in political reform were moderates. The Radical Reform Association, however, continued to maintain its separate existence and policy, with Mann and Foster as its leading spirits. It is significant that at one of their meetings, held on 24th May, special thanks were accorded for the impartial reporting of the proceedings of the Association, not only by the *Leeds Patriot*, but also by the Tory organ, the *Leeds Intelligencer*.⁷⁵

On 31st May a mass meeting, evidently promoted by the Radical Reform Association, took place on Hunslet Moor. A requisition, signed by 138 persons, had previously been sent to the Mayor requesting him to summon a public meeting for the purpose of forming "an union of all classes of the people to promote an effectual and radical reform in Commons House of Parliament, and for the protection of public rights." The Mayor having declined, the requisitionists made their own arrangements for the demonstration at Hunslet. A concourse of people came out to the Moor preceded by a band, which had been recruited in Morley, and by three standards, which were rather faded and appeared to have been resurrected from the turbulent days of 1817, 1818 and 1819. One was stamped in the centre with a harp, surmounted by the rose, shamrock and thistle, with the motto "Universal, civil and religious liberty"; another was inscribed with the words "Hold to the laws"; the third had on one side the words "When the wicked bear rule, the people perish. Excessive taxation generates poverty and poverty crime," and on the other "An

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 20th March, 1830.

⁷⁴ "We are not aware that a Petition so numerously signed was ever sent from this town on any similar subject." *Leeds Mercury*, 10th April, 1830.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 29th May.

hour of virtuous liberty is worth a whole eternity of bondage," and "The wicked shall not go unpunished." The chief speakers were Mann (who, we are told, spoke at great length) and George Beaumont, a Wesleyan minister from Norwich. Resolutions were adopted to the effect that the prevalent distress in the country was without parallel in its history; that this was due to unnecessary wars and mal-administration of public affairs; that the only remedy was a radical reform; that the formation of a Political Union in Leeds on the model of the Metropolitan Political Union was desirable, and that a Council should be formed of not more than fifty members, but with power to add to their number, to hold office for the ensuing year.⁷⁶ The rift between the Whig and the Radical reformers in Leeds was therefore carried a stage further.

While Mann and Foster were thus carrying on the Radical campaign mainly among the operatives, Baines and his friends were associated in a move which was to prove of really first-rate importance. Lord Milton and John Marshall having announced that they did not intend to stand again, in the issue of the *Leeds Mercury* for 17th July, 1830, there appeared an article in which Henry Brougham was recommended as a suitable candidate for the county at the forthcoming general election, and there followed a great eulogy in which Brougham was referred to as "the champion of the oppressed at home and over the whole world."⁷⁷ At a meeting held on 23rd July with Marshall in the chair, it was decided to invite Brougham and Lord Morpeth to stand as Whig candidates. The Tories put forward the names of William Duncombe and Richard Bethell. Strickland after the meeting wrote to Brougham to say, "So far as a meeting can settle a question previously to an election . . . you are to be a member for the county of York." He was secure. All the sects supported him, with the exception of some evangelicals, if only because of his advocacy of abolition of the slave trade, which meant that all those who had supported Wilberforce were now for Brougham.⁷⁸ It is recognized that the return of Brougham for Yorkshire is a

⁷⁶ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 3rd June.

⁷⁷ *Leeds Mercury*, 17th and 24th July. *Life of Edward Baines*, p. 150.

⁷⁸ *Life and Times of Henry, Lord Brougham* (3 vols., 1871), vol. iii, pp. 41-2. [Brougham's nomination was not secured without humiliating controversy among the Whig leaders at York, mainly on the ground that he was not a Yorkshireman, but there was also much resentment at the presumed dictation of the West Riding, and Baines in particular. See the report of the county meeting at York, *Leeds Intelligencer*, 29th July, 1830.]

landmark in the history of parliamentary reform, and Leeds citizens should be interested in the important part played by Edward Baines, John Marshall and other Leeds reformers in associating a great champion of reform at Westminster with a county which had played so distinguished a part in the earlier history of the movement.

Prior to the election, on Tuesday, 27th July, the Whig candidates paid a visit to Leeds, and after breakfast with a large party in the Exchange Coffee Room, addressed a crowd, computed to number 10,000, in the Cloth Hall yard. In his speech Brougham exclaimed

“ We don’t now live in the days of Barons, thank God—we live in the days of Leeds, of Bradford, of Halifax, and of Huddersfield. We live in the days when men are industrious and desire to be free.”

Heckled by Mann and Foster as to his views on the ballot and the other articles of the Radical programme, Brougham’s reply was

“ I am for extending the rights of voting to the great towns of England. I go a great deal further, I am for extending the right of voting to that class of people who have no right now in any town of England—inhabitant householders—and I am against freemen voting, which I think is the worst class, and I am for shortening the duration of Parliaments.”⁷⁹

The election took place on 5th August. Brougham, standing as a candidate in the Castle Yard of York, said appositely that he felt himself to be standing, if not on holy, at least on classic ground, for the flame of parliamentary reform had first burst forth from that place at the close of the American War. It now burnt with renewed splendour. He prayed that it might be his to fan the flame. As on 27th July, so now again he alluded to the urgent claim of such great industrial centres as Leeds to the parliamentary franchise. Morpeth and Brougham were triumphantly elected. The *Leeds Intelligencer*, commenting upon the results of the election, expressed its sympathy for the poor Whigs. They had been jockeyed, trampled upon, laughed at; and they deserved it.

“ Let it be proclaimed as a warning to the voters that the Whig aristocracy of the great county of York have been compelled to succumb to the Bainesocracy of Leeds.”

⁷⁹ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 29th July; *Leeds Mercury*, 31st July.

The ancient Whiggery had lacked the spirit to stand up to Mr. Baines and the *Leeds Mercury*, "aided by a small train of Unitarian and Presbyterian Dissenters, and the stray sheep of the Radical interest." The aristocratic Whigs of Yorkshire, as a political party, were dead, declared the *Leeds Intelligencer*, professing to derive comfort from a Reform triumph.⁸⁰

On 28th September a great dinner was held in Leeds to celebrate the Yorkshire election, a function which, in the words of the *Mercury*, took place "with a degree of splendour and with an enthusiastic ardour such as we have never before witnessed at any public festival in this town." Thomas William Tottie took the chair. The event was chiefly remarkable for a speech by Brougham in which he reiterated his pledge to "fan the flame" of reform and to obtain the parliamentary franchise for towns such as Leeds,

"feeling it incumbent on me," as he said, "to stand forward as the leader of Parliamentary reform, which may be said to have taken its rise in Yorkshire."⁸¹ "I am in Leeds," he continued, "one of the first towns of the Empire, the seat of the greatest commercial community in Yorkshire; in Leeds, which whether we regard its population, its wealth, its intelligence, or the ingenuity, the skill, or the industry of its inhabitants, is among the most important of all the towns which stud the British Empire; and I find that Leeds, abounding with people filled with wealth, having all these numberless transactions, and those vast and complicated interests which make it most of all probable that it should want the care and the individual attention of its own specific representatives in Parliament, is nevertheless as utterly without those representatives as if it were some paltry rotten borough, with half-a-dozen houses, with neither people, nor wealth, nor industry, nor business to represent."

This was a monstrous state of things which could not be suffered to endure any longer and which called imperiously for instant redress. With reference to Russell's attempt to give the parliamentary franchise to Leeds and the refusal of the House of Lords to agree, he said that he never entered a church without praying that the Lords of the Council and *all* the nobility might be endued with grace, wisdom and understanding, but it had not

⁸⁰ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 29th July.

⁸¹ *Life and Times of Brougham*, vol. iii, p. 27. [The full newspaper reports record minor verbal variations in this speech.]

pleased Providence to endue *all* the nobility with these qualities.⁸²

When, following upon the defeat of Wellington's government and the formation of a Whig cabinet under Earl Grey, pledged to Parliamentary reform, the Woolsack was offered to, and accepted by, Brougham, a new Knight of the Shire for Yorkshire had to be found, and Sir John Johnstone was chosen, with no enthusiasm by anybody. His Whiggery, said the *Intelligencer*, "resolves itself into milk and water,"⁸³ and Baines obviously merely acquiesced in this selection because he could find no one better. The *Leeds Mercury*, however, found great satisfaction in the reflection that the Tories had not been able to find any candidate at all,

"when we see that the good-eating, the deep-drinking, and the uproarious loyalty of the Pitt Club are now exchanged for bitter fasting and Jacobinical grumbling; when we see, moreover, that on the recent election this party could find no candidate to risk the ridicule and odium of standing forward on Tory principles."⁸⁴

From the beginning of the year 1831 onwards until the passing of the great Reform Bill in June 1832, the attention of all politically-minded people in Leeds as elsewhere in the country was concentrated on this great single issue: but there were of course other things to distract the mind. In the previous year that eccentric and violently demagogic philanthropist, Richard Oastler, had started his articles in the Leeds press on "Slavery in Yorkshire," thus launching forth as a champion of the operatives in cotton factories and woollen mills, especially of the children, for which he became famous in association with Michael Sadler, the author of the Ten Hours Bill, introduced into the House of Commons in this same year, 1831, the first substantial effort to limit the excessive hours of work in the mills and factories. The leaders in this great humanitarian crusade were all Tories, and they had to contend with the coldness or active hostility of the Whigs and Liberals, who resented any interference with the complete freedom of the employer, whatever its motives. At first sight the question of factory reform seems to have nothing whatever to do with that of parliamentary reform; but in Leeds at any rate the two became very closely interlinked, as we shall see.

⁸² *Leeds Intelligencer*, 30th September, 1830; *Leeds Mercury*, 2nd October.

⁸³ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 9th December.

⁸⁴ *Leeds Mercury*, 18th December, 1830.

Another, and very terrible, distraction of the year 1831 was the appearance in November at the port of Sunderland of the great cholera epidemic which swept over England and which speedily made its appearance in Leeds, so that the same papers which give most of their space to recording the progress of the Reform campaign in 1831 and 1832, notify also the progress of this fell disease and are full of suggestions for, as a rule, quite absurd remedies.

At the beginning of February, 1831, John Marshall, Edward Baines, and a number of other gentlemen, sixty in all, signed a requisition requesting the Mayor to call a meeting to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament in favour of parliamentary and economical reform, and especially for granting the election franchise to Leeds and other populous towns. Thorp, the Mayor, in response, appointed 10th February at 12 noon as the time for this meeting, at the Court House.⁸⁵ John Marshall presided, and speeches were made by Baines, George Rawson, John Marshall junior, James Richardson (a solicitor), and others. Baines's speech was chiefly notable for an onslaught upon Pitt and men like him, who forced the country into unnecessary wars, involved it in such an atrocious impost as an income tax, huge expenditure of public money and resultant misery and distress.⁸⁶ The *Leeds Mercury* was delighted at this meeting and especially with the unanimity of opinion expressed in it. Despite the fact that one of the speakers, George Wailes, declared that he would never vote for anyone who did not promise to support the ballot, the *Mercury* asserted that the meeting was untroubled by any discussion on that subject, or on those of annual parliaments and universal suffrage. Still more important was the fact that the opponents of reform "have not ventured either openly or secretly to raise their voice against it."⁸⁷ The *Intelligencer* explained the unanimity of the meeting as due to the Whigs having surrendered beforehand to all that the Radical party could have demanded, having really accepted the ballot, if not annual at least triennial parliaments, and universal suffrage, by "insinuation."⁸⁸ The *Intelligencer* estimated the number of persons present when the meeting began

⁸⁵ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 10th February, 1831.

⁸⁶ *Leeds Mercury*, 12th February.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 19th February.

⁸⁸ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 17th February.

at 4,000 or 5,000, but averred that not half that number were still there when it closed, it was so prolix. The meeting duly decided upon sending a petition, and this was signed by 17,515 persons. "We may also in truth say," added the *Mercury*,

"that a large proportion of the wealth and respectability of the town were included in the signatures to the petition."

The first Reform Bill received its first reading in the House of Commons on 9th March, 1831. Although there were some not inconsiderable differences between it and the third Bill which passed into law in 1832, in fundamentals there was no alteration, and one of the essential features of the proposals of Grey's government was the enfranchisement of great industrial towns hitherto unrepresented, such as Leeds. Naturally the Leeds press contained many comments upon the measure, and in particular upon the effects it would have upon the town, if it were carried. It was, for example, computed that the number of persons who would be entitled to the vote would be 4,151.⁸⁹ The *Intelligencer* argued that one result of the Bill would be that a considerable amount of landed and freehold property within the borough, which at present carried with it a vote for the county, would be deprived of that right, so that "here we have a most inequitable deprivation under the name of equity."⁹⁰ The second reading of the Bill having been carried by a majority of only one (302 to 301), and an amendment, proposed by General Gascoyne, having been passed against the government by 299 to 291, Grey decided upon an appeal to the country. This gave the zealous reformers in Leeds another opportunity of asserting their strength in a Yorkshire election.

On 10th March there was a lively meeting held at the Leeds Court House, and afterwards by adjournment in the yard of the Coloured Cloth Hall, to consider the propriety of addressing the King and petitioning both Houses of Parliament in support of the measure of reform introduced by His Majesty's ministers, at which Wailes again urged the necessity of the ballot because human beings were not sufficiently virtuous to dispense with it, and Mann objected to the fact that the Bill did not give the franchise to the labouring classes, although the enjoyment of liberty was as necessary to them as to the richest men in the country, and the

⁸⁹ *Leeds Mercury*, 7th March, 1831.

⁹⁰ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 5th March, 1831.

violent Smithson, obtaining a hearing only because he threatened to keep the meeting in existence all night till he did, declared that the aristocracy were making their present concessions simply with the selfish motive of strengthening their own position. In expressing this opinion, he parted company with his fellow Radical Mann, who, while criticising the Bill, nevertheless welcomed it as "one calculated to destroy the influence of that oppressive oligarchy which has so long ruled the people of England."⁹¹

Four Whig candidates were put forward for the Yorkshire election—Lord Morpeth, Sir John Johnstone, Charles Ramsden, and George Strickland. The *Leeds Intelligencer*, as it had done in the case of the last election, alleged that the selection was made by a small Leeds caucus controlled by Baines.

"These gentlemen [the candidates] meekly resign themselves into the hands of a little Association of Exclusives, who think for them, act for them, shout for them, trumpet for them, and seriously expect that the warm-hearted and right-principled county of York will basely submit to so impudent a dictation."⁹²

A number of Tories, styling themselves "Friends of Sound Constitutional Principles," met at the office of the *Leeds Intelligencer* in Commercial Street on 25th April for the purpose of securing the return of the Hon. W. Duncombe as one of the representatives of the county, "along with such other Gentlemen of sound Constitutional Principles as shall appear calculated to support the Real Interests of the Country."⁹³ On the 27th, the four reform candidates appeared in Leeds, and, after breakfasting in the Commercial Buildings, addressed a "vast assemblage" in the Cloth Hall Yard amid "extraordinary and unparalleled excitement," to quote the *Mercury*.⁹⁴ The efforts to put forward Tory candidates completely failed. Stuart Wortley and the Hon. Edwin Lascelles were invited, but declined, to stand; Duncombe withdrew. The *Intelligencer* mournfully admitted,

"Well may the Advocates of the Bill exult. The Tories of Leeds, Barnsley, Bradford, etc., have done their duty . . . but we cannot say as much for the aristocracy and principal Tory landowners of the County."⁹⁵

⁹¹ *Leeds Mercury*, 12th March, 1831.

⁹² *Leeds Intelligencer*, 28th April.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*; *Leeds Mercury*, 'Extraordinary,' 27th April.

⁹⁵ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 6th May.

Proportional to the gloom of the *Intelligencer* was the exultation of the *Mercury*—

“ Amidst the orange colours which flame over Yorkshire, not a scrap or rag of blue is anywhere to be seen, except in a ‘ No Dictation ’ placard here and there, well bespattered with mud, and the blue flag of the ‘ forlorn hope ’ drooping in melancholy mockery from a window of the *Leeds Intelligencer* office.”⁹⁶

The accounts given of the Yorkshire election of May, 1831, in the *Mercury* and the *Intelligencer* respectively, make amusing reading, so sharply are they contrasted. The general election was momentous, because the future of the movement for parliamentary reform depended upon whether Grey’s government would obtain a clear mandate from the country to carry its policy to a successful conclusion, and it roused therefore great excitement throughout the country. The *Leeds Mercury* was naturally enthusiastic about the Yorkshire election, which saw the return of all four Whig candidates, and hailed this as a “ glorious triumph for Reform.” Many supporters went over from Leeds to York on 5th and 6th May, the latter being the date of the declaration of the poll. The *Mercury* declared that “ one of the most splendid spectacles ever beheld in Leeds was exhibited ” on 5th May. A procession of coaches and carriages was formed up about noon in front of the Exchange Buildings,

“ in presence of a vast assemblage of people, all animated by the same spirit, and glowing with enthusiasm towards the sacred cause of liberty.”

It was computed that 30,000 people were assembled. So dense were the crowds that it took the procession nearly an hour to make its way through Briggate and Kirkgate along the York Road as far as Marsh Lane. Piously the Editor of the *Mercury* exclaimed,

“ To have lived to see such a day, and to have been the instrument in any degree, however humble, in producing it, was a gratification too powerful to be sustained without emotion, which we should labour in vain to express.”⁹⁷

The *Intelligencer*, rendered sardonic with chagrin at the Reformers’ success, enumerated and described with scornful accuracy the homely vehicles comprising the procession which moved the *Mercury* to such enthusiasm. The statement that the

⁹⁶ *Leeds Mercury*, 30th April, 1831.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7th May.

crowd exhibited any enthusiasm the *Intelligencer* described as "pure fudge," adding that "the populace mustered to see the show; and were very poorly repaid for their trouble." With great satisfaction the Tory organ gave the further information that on its way to York the procession encountered a "most uncere- monious" fall of rain so that "it entered the ancient city very stragglingly and sadly shorn of its glory."⁹⁸

The following day another procession, mainly of freeholders, assembled at 4 p.m., and made its way to York :

" the whole line of road from Leeds to York, as far as the eye could reach . . . seemed to be covered with orange."⁹⁹

Soon after the assembling of the new Parliament, the second Reform Bill was introduced by Lord John Russell, and passed its second reading by a majority of 136, its third by one of 109—on 21st September. It was rejected by the House of Lords by a majority of 41 (199–158) on 8th October. The action of the Peers produced a great ferment throughout the country, and in many places the mob demonstrated against prominent Tory lords on their property. At the critical moment when the Bill had been accepted by the Commons but awaited the verdict of the Upper House, the leading champions of the measure in Leeds presented a requisition to the Mayor asking him to summon a town meeting to consider the desirability of presenting a petition to the Lords. The Mayor having refused, the requisitionists summoned a meeting themselves, which took place on Monday, 26th September. The younger Marshall being in the chair, forcible speeches were made by Talbot Baines, George Wailes, Joshua Bower, Richardson, Clapham, and James Mann.

" Was there a man in the kingdom," Baines exclaimed, " who could believe that a vote of the Cumberlands, the Newcastles, the Exeters, the Londonderrys, the Kenyons, and the Carnar- vons, could induce the people to put Gatton and Old Sarum upon a new trial? . . . Or could it be supposed that it would or could perpetuate the system under which Leeds, Halifax, Huddersfield, Bradford, etc., to say nothing of Manchester and Birmingham, were excluded from all share in the privileges and blessings of the Constitution, except the payment of the tax-gatherer at his quarterly round? "

The *Mercury* was highly pleased with this meeting. " We

⁹⁸ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 12th May, 1831.

⁹⁹ *Leeds Mercury*, 7th May, 1831.

never witnessed so numerous an assembly in which as much zeal was displayed in union with such good temper."¹⁰⁰ In two days 21,423 signatures were obtained to the petition.¹⁰¹ An attempt to produce a counterblast was a lamentable fiasco; in five days only 400 signatures had been secured for a petition against the Reform Bill.¹⁰² When the House of Lords threw out the Bill, the *Leeds Mercury* came out with one of its *Extraordinary* issues, with the flaming headline, "The Bill is lost—Long live the Bill!"; but the news does not appear to have caused as much excitement as the Editor of the *Mercury* had hoped for and anticipated: either because there was no property belonging to one of the wicked anti-Reform Lords to attack, or because the populace was particularly law-abiding, there was no disturbance. The *Mercury* claimed that a strong sensation was created in the town, but that it was "deep" rather than "loud."¹⁰³ The *Intelligencer* gives the information that on the evening of 11th October a small crowd paraded the streets, carrying an effigy of the Duke of Wellington about with it; that they halted outside the office of the *Intelligencer*, booed and cheered, and let off a number of squibs and crackers. This paper also alleges that Francis Fawkes, of Farnley Hall, concerted plans at the *Mercury* office for bringing the operatives out of the mills and workshops, the farm labourers out of the fields, as a protest against the action of the Upper House; but if there is any truth in this story, nothing whatever came of the plan.¹⁰⁴ Ere the momentous events of the autumn of 1831, the attention of ardent politicians in Leeds, on either side, had become concentrated upon the question of how Leeds should be represented if and when a Parliamentary Reform Bill was passed; and during the remainder of the struggle, until the triumphant day (7th June, 1832) when the King gave the royal assent to the third Bill, that concentration of mind continued.

¹⁰⁰ *Leeds Mercury*, 1st October, 1831.

¹⁰¹ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 6th October. "The wonder is that it did not contain 10,000 more, because many persons, some of them mere children, wrote from ten to a dozen names at a time, and did not confine their operations to a single sheet."

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 8th October.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 15th October.

¹⁰⁴ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 13th October.

III

THE FIRST LEEDS PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, 1832.

Before the end of August, 1831, the question of who should be invited to stand for the borough of Leeds at its first parliamentary election was being eagerly discussed. The *Leeds Patriot*, in its issue of 20th August, categorically stated,

"It was settled on Wednesday evening, by their High Mightinesses, at the Workhouse Board, immediately to send a requisition to Mr. John Marshall, junior, and to Mr. Baines, to offer themselves as candidates for this Borough in Parliament."¹⁰⁵

That Baines had been invited or aspired to enter Parliament was emphatically denied in the next issue of the *Leeds Mercury*; he felt he could serve the cause better by his newspaper. But that John Marshall, junior, was being seriously considered as one of the candidates was admitted. One of the members, it was argued, ought to be closely connected with the town, a man of business habits, able to represent its industries and commerce, and no one combined these qualifications more happily than the junior Marshall. The article went on to say that it was desirable that the other member should not be a local man, that he should be chosen for his eminent talents, and for his advocacy of the Reform Bill.¹⁰⁶ A few days later the *Intelligencer* referred very bitingly to the fact that the Editor of the *Mercury* had taken in good earnest the report that a request that he should stand as a candidate was about to be made to him and had "declined in remarkably modest terms that honour which he was vain enough to suppose was really intended for him."¹⁰⁷

The man of eminent talents who had distinguished himself by his advocacy of parliamentary reform whom Baines and his friends had in mind was Thomas Babington Macaulay, whom the *Mercury* described as "unquestionably the most eloquent and powerful speaker in the House of Commons."¹⁰⁸ The *Intelligencer's* first acid comment on this proposal was:

"The Dictators must indeed have a contemptible opinion of their fellow townsmen, if they suppose that the people of Leeds

¹⁰⁵ *Leeds Patriot*, 20th August, 1831.

¹⁰⁶ *Leeds Mercury*, 27th August, 1831.

¹⁰⁷ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 1st September, 1831. *Life of Baines*, p. 165. Many Leeds citizens urged Baines to stand. "But, unfeignedly deeming himself not qualified for such a post, and being now deeply engaged in his greatest literary work, the *History of Lancashire*, he gave an instant and decided negative to all such suggestions."

¹⁰⁸ *Leeds Mercury*, 3rd September.

will tamely submit to have this vain and drivelling person imposed upon them.”¹⁰⁹

A fortnight later the *Intelligencer* found it possible to describe Macaulay as “a child in law and a schoolboy in politics,” whom scarcely one of the 120,000 inhabitants of Leeds had ever seen, and with whose name previous to the present agitation a very large proportion of the population was as little familiar as with that of the Khan of Tartary.¹¹⁰

The Tories speedily found a suitable champion to oppose as candidate to Marshall and Macaulay in Michael Thomas Sadler, who in a sense combined the qualifications of the two Whigs, being at once a distinguished townsman of Leeds, and, like Macaulay, already a member of Parliament, who had made a reputation for himself in the House of Commons. Each at the time was sitting for a borough which, if the Reform Bill passed into law, would be disfranchised; each therefore was likely to view with favour an invitation to stand for one of the newly enfranchised industrial towns. The *Intelligencer* commended Sadler as one who

“understood the interests of the town and shared its feelings, who united eminent talent with sound judgment, the power of thought with the power of speech, whose principles were both constitutional and liberal.”¹¹¹

The *Mercury* did Sadler the justice to admit that he was upright, benevolent, and talented, and an eloquent speaker. As against this it described him as excessively garrulous, so weakly fond of hearing himself talk that he could hardly obtain a hearing in the House of Commons, wanting in sound judgment, and continually carried away by his feelings and imagination. He had as the result of these latter defects espoused with warm enthusiasm every blunder in principle and policy of which his party had been guilty. He had been the chief disclaimer of the Pitt Club in Leeds, the passionate foe of Huskisson’s free trade policy, and the strong advocate of the Corn Laws. Much was made of the fact that Sadler had sat in the House of Commons for Newark under the patronage of the Duke of Newcastle, who notoriously had ejected from their dwellings those who had refused to vote for his nominee.

¹⁰⁹ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 1st September.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 15th September.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1st September.

This was no doubt very reprehensible in the Duke, but it was hardly just to attach the opprobrium of such highhanded action to Sadler. More apposite was the argument (to quote the *Mercury*)

"that which makes it perfectly amazing that anyone should dream of Mr. Sadler as a member for Leeds is, that he is a determined and irreconcilable foe to the measure by which Leeds will obtain the franchise. He defends the old corrupt system of borough-mongering in every part and particle. And not only does he oppose the extension of the franchise, but he especially and earnestly maintains that if it be extended, the franchise *should not be given to the large non-represented towns*, to the commercial and manufacturing interest, but to the counties and the agricultural interest."¹¹²

Sir George Trevelyan in his life of Macaulay complains that Sadler "infused into the contest an amount of personal bitterness that for his own sake might have been better spared"¹¹³; but as Trevelyan himself admits, Sadler was smarting under the lash of the *Edinburgh Review*, to which his opponent had contributed criticisms of Sadler's literary works so hostile and contemptuous in their tone that any man of spirit would have resented them.¹¹⁴ In truth neither side was in a position to condemn the other, for from the first appearance of the names of Macaulay and Sadler in connection with the prospective Leeds election, each side turned upon the other the most violent and whole-hearted abuse. There was nothing to choose between the *Mercury* and the *Intelligencer* in this respect, while the two candidates themselves, when in due course they appeared upon the scene, trounced each other with a will. On the whole the language of the hustings was more restrained than that of the press. In the doughtiness of the blows launched against one another by the contending editors, the Leeds election bore a close resemblance to that of Eatanswill.

On 5th September, 1831, there was a meeting under the chairmanship of George Rawson of the body whose leading spirit was Edward Baines, which had taken so keen an interest and so

¹¹² *Leeds Mercury*, 10th September, 1831. Cf. a similar attack in the following issue, 17th September.

¹¹³ Sir G. O. Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* (1889 ed.), p. 183.

¹¹⁴ Cf. *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1829, p. 825. "The last number of the *Edinburgh Review* is disgraced by an article in the very worst spirit of the worst time of that declining periodical. The article to which we allude is that written on Mr. Sadler's work on Ireland. It is pert, conceited, shallow, impudent, and wrong; it is worthless in matter, and in manner offensive."

active a part in the county elections, and which assumed the title of the Leeds Association for Promoting within the County of York the Free Return of Fit Representatives to Parliament. On this occasion the members pledged themselves never to sanction any species of improper influence on the electors for the borough of Leeds, and a resolution was adopted, "that this Association is also deeply sensible of the corrupting and demoralizing influence of money spent at elections, either in bribery, treating, or any way rewarding persons for services not strictly necessary; that it will therefore strongly discountenance any needless expenditure at Elections, and will promote the most rigid economy, so as to preserve the sobriety and purity of the electors, and to secure the return of the Members constitutionally, virtuously, and free of expense."¹¹⁵ It was the members of this Association who were the principal supporters of the design to invite Macaulay and Marshall to stand for Leeds. To the requisition to Marshall they obtained 1,434 signatures, to that to Macaulay 1,304. At the beginning of October both gentlemen accepted the invitation.

On 8th September Sadler's friends met together with a view to promoting his candidature. The *Intelligencer* subsequently claimed that copies of a requisition to him to stand were circulated in the town

"with the most gratifying reception from all ranks of the probable electors—from the head of the civic body down to the humblest ten-pound householders."

The paper added,

"if a still lower class of voters were admitted under the bill, Mr. Sadler's supporters would be more than proportionally increased, so completely are the operative classes satisfied that the Honourable Gentleman, of all our public men, is the most thoroughly imbued with the spirit which 'careth for the poor and lowly'; and that he is indeed what he professes to be, the warm-hearted philanthropist and patriot, actuated by a pure desire to serve and benefit, not to cajole by high-sounding words and vain promises."¹¹⁶

In the same issue of the *Intelligencer* there appeared a letter, signed 'An Operative,' in support of Sadler. The writer said it

¹¹⁵ *Leeds Mercury*, 10th September, 1831. In a leading article reference is made to the system "base and tyrannical, yet lamentably common in election contests," of "intimidating tradesmen by threatening to withdraw custom." As we shall see, it was alleged that the Tories had recourse to this malpractice in the subsequent contest.

was certain that the Reform Bill would not—nor had it ever been intended that it should—

“ relieve or even mitigate the privations and distresses of the persons whose good Mr. Sadler has been for forty years striving to promote: I mean the industrious and unenfranchised poor, or, as Mr. Macaulay was pleased to call them, ‘ the crazy multitude.’ ”¹¹⁶

The arguments in the *Intelligencer*, first, that Sadler had shewn himself to be the friend of the poor, and, second, that the Reform Bill did nothing for the poor, were highly significant. The Tories had lamentably failed in their efforts to bring a candidate to the hustings at the last Yorkshire election. Plainly they were unable to find anyone who in the existing ferment of opinion had any chance of acceptance. For the prospective Leeds election, on the other hand, they had in Sadler a very strong candidate—strong because he was not only a Tory but a philanthropist, a man who stood at one and the same time for privilege and tradition on the one hand, and for the improvement of the lot of the unprivileged and necessitous on the other. The *Intelligencer*, which hitherto had been opposed to parliamentary reform altogether, from the time that Sadler was invited to become the Tory candidate for Leeds began to criticize the Government’s proposals because they were insufficiently democratic. The *Mercury* not unnaturally taunted its rival with its *volte-face*—

“ Let the *Intelligencer* and its party look back at the files of the paper and blush, if they have any sense of shame left, for their inconsistency.”

This apostrophe follows other sarcastic comments upon the Tory organ in its new capacity of reformer and the statement: nay, the *Intelligencer* is not merely a ‘reformer’; it goes still further—it is now actually wheedling and coaxing the ‘Radicals.’¹¹⁷

The inconsistency of which the *Intelligencer* was accused was not so glaring as may at first appear to those who are unfamiliar with the forms of borough franchise which prevailed prior to the passing of the Reform Act, and who do not appreciate that that Act not only gave the vote to a large number of people who had hitherto had none, but also disfranchised a not inconsiderable number who heretofore had possessed it—notably the scot and

¹¹⁶ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 15th September, 1831.

¹¹⁷ *Leeds Mercury*, 29th October, 1831.

lot voters. Nothing so democratic as the scot and lot qualification was permitted by the framers of the Reform Bills, who substituted a rational uniformity of qualification for the chaotic and arbitrary diversity which had prevailed in the past. Thus a good many poor people were disfranchised by the Reform Act and no poor people obtained it. The measure was one by which the middle classes alone benefited directly; the advantages to the poor could only be indirect.

As we have seen, Baines and his coterie had been extremely anxious that the Leeds Radicals should make common cause with the Whigs. They had, despite Baines' pleadings, formed their own organization; on the other hand, Mann and Foster had appeared on the same platform with Baines, Bower and other leading Whigs, and they did so at so late a date as 26th September, at the meeting at which it was decided to send a petition to the House of Lords. Radicals felt at least as strongly as the Whigs that the Peers must not be allowed to thwart the people. But from that time onwards there was no co-operation at all between those who followed Baines and those who followed Mann.

On 3rd November the celebrated Henry Hunt paid a visit to Leeds. Hunt was now Member of Parliament for Preston, and no longer the very stormy petrel he had been in his most ebullient days in the years immediately following the Napoleonic Wars. Then, known as "Orator Hunt," he had been by far the most famous demagogue in the country. His name is associated with the mass meetings at Spa Fields in 1817, and at Peterloo in 1819; to many people, alike to those who desired and to those who dreaded it, he had been the symbol of the spirit of revolution. But if Hunt's name no longer inspired the enthusiasm and the opprobrium that it had done when he was in his prime, it was still one to conjure with. It had been intended that Hunt should address a mass meeting on Woodhouse Moor; but when he arrived in Leeds he had a bad cold which affected his voice, and so he spoke instead from an open window in the Beckett's Arms. According to the *Mercury*, great efforts were made beforehand to arrange a spectacle worthy of a great occasion. Placards of no ordinary size were displayed all over the town announcing the forthcoming event; the great event of the day was to be the procession from the centre of the town to the Moor, followed by the orator's address. But, according to the *Mercury*, the whole thing

King's Arms
or
Scarborough
Hotel

was "a miserable failure, though he [Hunt] got the shouts of a small, unreasoning, and self-degraded mob in his favour." The grand procession consisted of no more than 150 persons, all labourers, and they did not go to Woodhouse Moor at all. Foster claimed that there were 10,000 present to hear Hunt's speech; Baines said there were not a quarter of that number. There was never, he said, "a more heartless affair; it was perfectly funereal."¹¹⁸ Baines himself attended the meeting, and there was a lively interchange between him and Hunt.

The latter had been sent a copy of the *Mercury* in which he was described as an "intruder." Hunt made elaborate sarcastic use of this. It was the first time that he had heard that Leeds existed in a sort of quarantine, and that it was necessary to apply to Mr. Baines in order to obtain a certificate of health before entering the town, or a fortified town for admission to which it was necessary to obtain the countersign from Mr. Baines. But the important part of the speech was not the persiflage at the expense of Baines and his paper (though that indicated the extent of the breach between the Radicals and the Whigs), but rather Hunt's commendation of Sadler despite his Toryism. His argument was that the Tories were out of office and so could do no harm. Sadler and Macaulay should be considered upon their individual merits, and he considered Sadler the more likely to make a good member than "the briefless barrister" Macaulay, and "ten thousand times more disposed to assist the working classes."¹¹⁹

On Thursday, 17th November, the Radical working men who had heard Hunt met at the Sir John Falstaff Inn, St. Peter's Square, with John Ayrey in the chair, to establish a definitely Radical Political Union.¹²⁰ A young man named Robert Howard read out a declaration to the effect that every freeman had the right to the full enjoyment of political privilege, and that this Union existed for the purpose of watching over the interests of the workers. This, no doubt, exulted the *Intelligencer*, roused the editor of the *Mercury*, since he found his influence over the operatives on the wane; but a high proportion of the working

¹¹⁸ *Leeds Mercury*, 12th November, 1831. [Not traced.]

¹¹⁹ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 10th November, 1831.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 17th [and 24th] November, 1831.

classes now saw plainly enough that the ministerial measure was a sham, an autocratic measure which arbitrarily denied to the great mass of the people what it pretended to give. Sadler, unlike those responsible for the Bill, was a true reformer, one who was interested in the *whole* of our national policy, who would give to the suffering poor employment, food, protection and comfort. Convinced that Sadler would obtain the support of the Radicals as well as of themselves, the leading Tories, presided over by Hall, met on 12th November and formally invited Sadler to be a candidate. The *Leeds Mercury* scathingly declared that James Mann had been

“ forming Political Unions of one kind or another for the last twenty years, every one of which had failed, so that the fate of his latest venture could be confidently predicted.”¹²¹

But Baines and his co-adjutors were active men, not in the least disposed to sit with folded arms, complacently awaiting the fulfilment of such an optimistic prophecy. Mann’s Union must be made to fail, and the best way to assure this was to start a counter-organisation. This was speedily undertaken. On Thursday, 17th November, a gathering of some 200 persons assembled at the Cross Keys tavern, Little Holbeck, to approve the rules already drafted by a committee for the formulation of a new society. This was to be termed the Leeds Political Union,¹²² “originating, we believe, with a body of mechanics” said the *Intelligencer*. In order to avoid confusion between this and Mann’s association, it will be well to describe this new body as the Holbeck Union, which contemporaries often did, no doubt for the same reason. In order to give a certain prestige to the venture, its originators sought to arrange that its first public meeting should take place in the Court House. But this the Mayor and Corporation refused to allow, alleging that the society was contrary to the Royal Proclamation which had recently declared political unions to be unconstitutional and illegal. The proclamation had been issued in consequence of the proceedings of such very important and aggressive unions as that, notably, of Attwood at Birmingham.¹²³ The *Mercury*, incensed against the essentially

¹²¹ *Leeds Mercury*, 19th November, 1831.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 26th November; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 24th November, 1831.

¹²³ [The ‘Mother of Unions,’ which was imitated all over the country and was mainly under middle class leadership, whilst another kind, the ‘Low Political Unions,’ were entirely composed of working men. G. M. Trevelyan, *Lord Grey of the Reform Bill* (1920), pp. 324-5 (R.O.).]

Tory Leeds Corporation, declared that the Holbeck Union was manifestly just as legal a body as the defunct Pitt Club or any other society that had ever existed. Nevertheless in view of the royal proclamation and of the fact that the character of the new organisation could as yet only be guessed at, the attitude of the Mayor was not unreasonable. The new Union held its inaugural meeting on 15th December, there being over 1,000 persons present. The essential idea of the new Union was that it should be jointly representative of the middle classes and the working classes. Thus on its Council there sat together Joshua Bower, elected the chairman, who was a glass-founder of Hunslet; John Smithson, furniture broker; John Whitehead, machine manufacturer; and others belonging to the middle classes, and machine workers and flax-spinners, etc., representing the operatives.¹²⁴

Meanwhile a brisk skirmishing was being carried on between the prospective candidates and their supporters. Sadler wrote a letter to one of his Leeds friends in which there were a number of reflections on Macaulay. He subsequently stated that this was a purely private letter; nevertheless it was reproduced in the press, and its publication was deeply resented by his opponents,¹²⁵ who were also deeply moved by insinuations early spread abroad and repeated frequently up to the eve of the election by the Tories that Macaulay was of unsound religious faith, indeed an infidel.¹²⁶ On the other side, a certain Methodist minister named Watson contributed letters to the *Mercury* alleging that Sadler's assertion of zeal for the abolition of negro slavery was a mere pretence and that in this regard and in others he was now professing, simply with a view to the forthcoming election, opinions which in the past he had not only never held, but had actually opposed, and so revealing a meanness and disingenuousness which totally unfitted him to represent Leeds.¹²⁷

The rights and wrongs of the Ten Hours Bill were being almost as much canvassed as those of the Reform Bill, and the editor of the *Mercury* rather spitefully predicted that if ever the former reached the statute-book it would either remain a dead-letter or

¹²⁴ *Leeds Mercury*, 17th December; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 29th December, 1831.

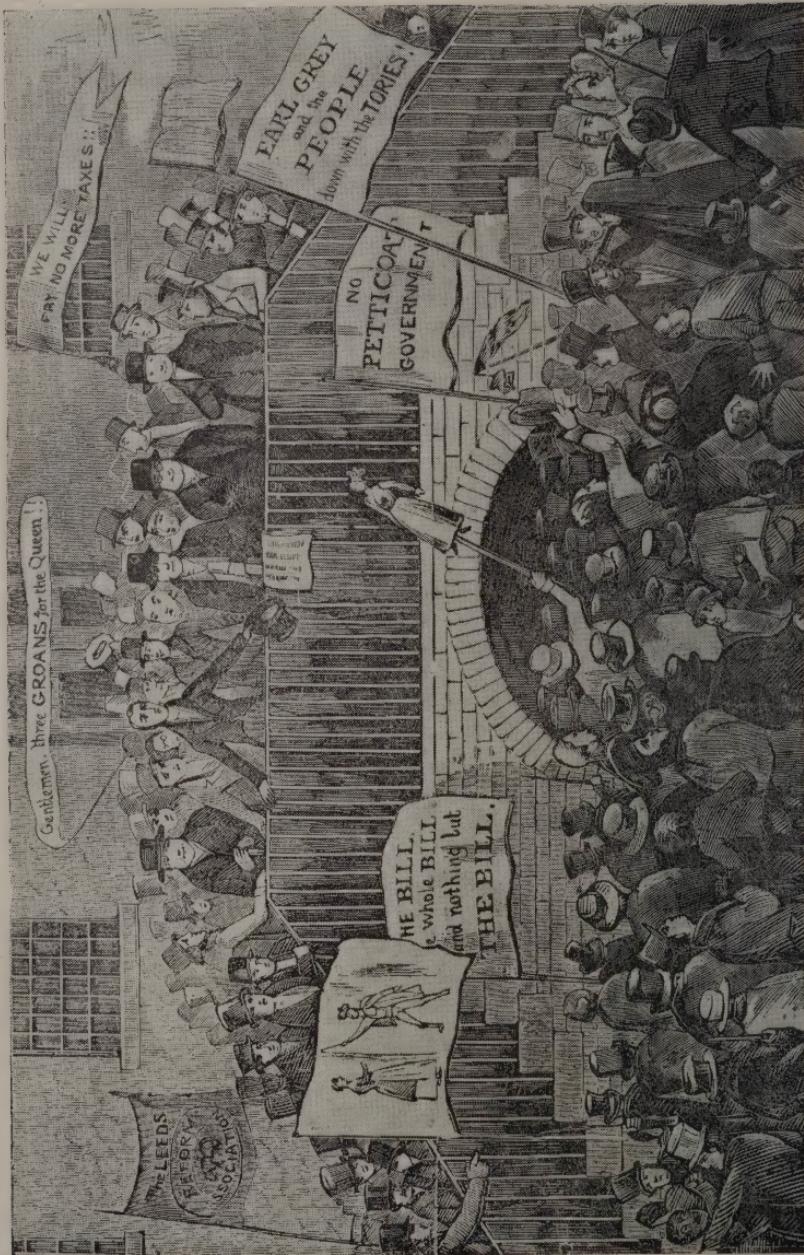
¹²⁵ *Leeds Mercury*, 15th October, 1831.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 24th September, 1831 [details from 1832 presently].

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 15th October, 5th November, 1831.



JOSHUA BOWER



WHIG DEMONSTRATION, 14TH MAY, 1832

would ruin all the manufacturers in the country and destroy its foreign trade. This, he added, would involve the starvation of all the workmen in the factories. Nevertheless, in view of the sentiments expressed in the Baines press, it is not surprising that the operatives in Leeds had no love either for Baines or his paper, and that they believed in Sadler rather than in Macaulay.

The great year 1832 dawned. The dread cholera epidemic spread from Goole into Leeds in the early summer. There was considerable discussion of Irish questions; on the one hand, of the tithe system in that country and the fierce objection of the Roman Catholics to the payment of dues which went to the maintenance of the alien church of a comparatively small minority of the population, and on the other, of the sufferings of the poor in Ireland, as to whether it was or was not expedient to introduce into the country a Poor Law such as England enjoyed. Sadler was strongly in favour of the latter proposal; the Whigs were opposed to it, and at a public meeting on the subject in Leeds, which was addressed by Sadler, Baines, and Mann, among others, Joshua Bower argued that no attempt should be made to give Ireland a poor law system until the property of the established Irish Church had first been applied to the relief of the distressed.¹²⁸ The Leeds Association for Promoting within the County of York the Free Return of Members of Parliament held its annual meeting, with its president, John Marshall, in the chair, congratulated itself upon the signal success of its recent activities, and decided that its functions should be defined as the superintending of elections for the West Riding and for the borough of Leeds.¹²⁹ The Radical Union interested itself in the Irish question as well as in the Ten Hours Bill. On 28th April, as a demonstration against what they stigmatized as the "unblushing misrepresentations" of the *Mercury* regarding a meeting in support of the Factory Bill, and its attempts to ridicule the meeting and its "splenetic abuse" of Sadler and Oastler for their exertions in defence of oppressed children in the factories, some 200 operatives marched through the principal streets of the town, carrying the *Leeds Mercury* of the day, held on a pole, bound in crepe. Finally this was burnt outside the *Mercury* office, "amidst the hisses, hootings, and groans of the populace assembled." In the evening Baines' effigy

¹²⁸ *Leeds Mercury*, 14th, 21st, 28th January, 1832.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 21st January; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 26th January, 1832.

was similarly burned "amidst the shouts and execrations of the assembled thousands," after they had given three cheers for the *Intelligencer* outside its office, and sung "God save the King" outside Sadler's residence.¹³⁰

The crisis of the third Reform Bill came in the month of May. The Bill passed through all its stages in the Lower House without difficulty; it was manifest that the trial of strength would again take place in the House of Lords. Extraordinary efforts were made to convert the previous hostile majority in that chamber into a benevolent one. The King tried, through the Archbishop of Canterbury, to bring pressure upon the episcopal bench, whose members were nearly all Tories and enemies of parliamentary reform. More promising were negotiations with Lord Harrowby and Lord Wharncliffe (who as Stuart Wortley had represented Yorkshire from 1818 to 1826). These men did not profess to have any liking for the Bill, but had come to the conclusion that the public opinion of the country was such that it must be suffered to pass; they had a small following of Tory peers, who are generally known as "The Waverers." Eventually they were able to give a guarantee to Grey that they were sufficiently numerous to turn the scale and to ensure the second reading of the measure. The event proved them to be justified in giving this undertaking, but the margin was most dangerously small—only nine—so the minds of the members of the government were but little relieved, especially as the Waverers had reserved to themselves the right of voting for amendments in the committee stage. It was evident that the eventual success of the Bill was very far from being assured. The Cabinet had been seriously considering the policy of advising the King to use his prerogative to create a sufficiently large number of new Whig peers to make the passing of the Bill a certainty. Grey personally was very reluctant to have recourse to such drastic action and, pending the result of the division and the second reading, the matter had been held in suspense. But the prospects after the second reading were so doubtful and ambiguous that inevitably the argument in favour of advising the King to create peers was immediately brought forward again, and was earnestly considered not only by members of the government but by the rank and file who supported parliamentary reform all over the country.

¹³⁰ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 3rd, 10th May, 1832.

So it was in Leeds. The reformers sent a requisition to the Mayor to call a meeting on 19th April to consider the propriety of presenting an address to the King, earnestly entreating him to exercise his prerogative in order to prevent a collision between the two Houses of Parliament and to ensure the passing of the Reform Bill. The Tory Mayor, William Hey, refused to lend the authority of his office to such a meeting "for the furtherance," to use his own words, "of a proceeding destructive, so it appears to me, of the independence of Parliament." The requisitionists therefore summoned a meeting on their own authority, and although they were able to give but twelve hours' notice, they claimed that from three to four thousand persons were present.¹³¹

As the Cabinet had feared, the Reform Bill met with serious difficulties in committee, where the Tories carried an amendment which the Government could not possibly accept. They decided therefore that they must advise the King to create peers to overcome the opposition in the Upper House. When William IV declined to make as many new peers as the Cabinet deemed to be necessary, they then felt they had no alternative but to resign. On 12th May the *Leeds Mercury* came out with tremendous flaming headlines, quite unusual in journalism over a century ago: "A great calamity has befallen England. THE BOROUGH-MONGERS HAVE TRIUMPHED! THE REFORM BILL HAS BEEN STRANGLED! THE KING HAS REFUSED TO MAKE PEERS! AND THE GREY AND BROUGHAM ADMINISTRATION HAS RESIGNED!!!"

The Leeds Association for Promoting the Free Return of Fit Representatives for the County of York had met in full force two days before in the Commercial Buildings and passed a number of resolutions expressing their indignation at the fate of the Reform Bill and declaring the propriety of stopping supplies until the Bill should have received the royal assent. It was also decided forthwith to summon a meeting to give public expression to these sentiments, and not to go through what experience had shown to be the futile formality of requesting the Mayor to give his civic authority to the demonstration.¹³²

This meeting was held on Monday, 14th May. Before this the Tories, in league with those whom the *Mercury* styled "the

¹³¹ *Leeds Mercury*, 21st April, 1832.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 12th May, 1832. See Plate V.

Huntite Radicals"—the leaders being Mann, John Foster of the *Patriot*, William Rider, and John Ayrey, for the Radicals, with Robert Hall, the barrister, and other members of the True Blue Club—had taken counter-action. On the Sunday there appeared in the streets of Leeds orange posters—orange being the Whig colour—so that all reformers would be induced to read them, which contained a vehement and sarcastic denunciation of the Grey Administration, "the whole," as the *Mercury* indignantly exclaimed, "one treacherous falsehood." In it, Grey (who was certainly something of a nepotist) was accused of having put £100,000 of public money into the pockets of himself and his family within the last few months, of having assisted the Emperor of Russia to enslave the Poles, and of having brought in a Bill to deprive the operative classes of all political influence for ever.

Although they had had little time to answer this, to them, outrageous document, the Whigs produced on the following morning placards calling upon reformers to be unanimous and to beware of the base coalition formed in the town of those who were in league to support the Duke of Wellington, the enemy of all reform, and to rally in large numbers at the meeting to be held at the Cloth Hall Yard that afternoon. Also that morning bands paraded in the streets and banners were displayed bearing the device, "The Bill or No Taxation." Many employers allowed their workpeople to leave the mills in time to attend the great demonstration, which was fixed to begin at four o'clock. The Cloth Hall Yard was filled to overflowing (and it was computed that that meant an attendance of 30,000), while a still greater number of people, perhaps as many as 50,000, were unable to gain entry. "The spirit displayed" by those present at the meeting, said the *Mercury*, "was peaceful, but at the same time determined." George Rawson was voted to the chair, and speeches were delivered by John Marshall junior, John Clapham, George Wailes, and Edward Baines. The Tory-Radical coalition also attempted to address the meeting—Foster endeavoured to reach the hustings, but he was much buffeted by the crowd, the great majority of whom were hostile, and even when he succeeded in escaping from the yard he was in considerable danger outside and had to seek refuge in a hotel. Robert Hall, though he was greeted by a storm of disapprobation, did succeed in speaking against the resolution to petition the House of Commons. "I come here,"

he said, " to perform what I think a duty to my country in opposing this petition, because if the House of Commons should yield to it, the mechanism of government will be interrupted, and the whole country will be involved in confusion and riot." The policy which its supporters were advocating, whatever may be felt as to its provocation, was certainly anarchic, and Hall was speaking in defence of constitutional government. It needed courage to utter this protest, which was certainly unpopular, and he like Foster was subjected to some violence before he succeeded in finding asylum inside the Cloth Hall itself. Needless to say, the resolution in favour of sending the petition was adopted, and after the conclusion of the meeting large crowds made their way to the office of the *Leeds Mercury*, where they were addressed by Baines, this demonstration concluding with tremendous applause and the playing of " Rule, Britannia " by the band.

After all, the petition was not needed. The attempt of the Duke of Wellington to form a Tory government speedily collapsed and Grey and his colleagues resumed office. A special number of the *Mercury* announced on the Wednesday evening in the boldest headlines the victory of the people, the recall of Grey, the " vanquishing of the borough-mongers " never to raise their heads again. The Bill was now safe. The French people in the three days of their July revolution of 1830 had achieved a glorious success. " The SIX DAYS of May, 1832," cried the *Mercury*, " are still *more glorious* to the English, for the People of England have for ever secured their rights . . . without the shedding of one drop of blood."¹³³

On Wednesday, 23rd May, a great meeting of the West Riding electors was held at Wakefield. It was attended by many people who were not electors. The day seems to have been made a general holiday in Leeds and we are told that thousands made their way to Wakefield. A procession of pedestrians, having formed up outside the Coloured Cloth Hall, started on their march at seven o'clock in the morning. They were led by members of the (Holbeck) Political Union, with its president, Joshua Bower, at its head, and accompanied by several bands and a great array of banners. Outside the *Mercury* office the procession halted and

¹³³ *Leeds Mercury*, 12th May; *Leeds Mercury Extraordinary*, 15th May; *Leeds Mercury*, 19th May, 1832. [There were three editions on each of these days. Copies in the University Library, Leeds (R.O.).]

gave three cheers for that newspaper. At nine o'clock some eighty carriages and a large number of equestrians started out on the journey to Wakefield. Among the carriages was one, described by the *Mercury* as "stupendous and unique . . . drawn by four powerful horses." Forty-five ardent reformers, decorated with orange rosettes and ribands, travelled in this carriage, which displayed a mast from which flew the union jack and several yellow flags. The whole population of Leeds, we are told, appeared to have come out into the streets in order to witness these processions, and the

" brilliancy of the weather, the splendour of the banners, the sound of the music, the gay appearance of the Reformers adorned with colours, and the high spirits of all parties, rendered the scene one of the most exhilarating and delightful nature."¹³⁴

On 7th June there came the news that the royal assent had been given to the Reform Bill. Thousands stood round the entrance to the *Mercury* office awaiting the arrival of the London mail, in anticipation of the good news. It was announced by Baines, and

" immediately the bells of the Parish Church rang a merry peal, though an attempt had been made to prevent the Churchwardens from giving this expression* to the public joy. Cannons were discharged in several parts of the town during the whole evening."¹³⁵

Members of the Political Union perambulated the streets, and many banners were displayed.

The Bill having passed into law, Leeds now actually possessed the right to return two members to Parliament, and as the government desired an early general election fought under the new conditions, in order to garner without loss of time the fruits of victory, it was clear that the town would have the opportunity of exercising its new rights in the very near future. Great as had been the interest felt in the prospective election from the moment that the candidates had been selected, a note of even greater urgency and excitement is to be discerned in the political life of Leeds during the remainder of 1832.

There was a great deal of liveliness shown on 15th June, on which day the Reformers, in celebration of the victory of their

¹³⁴ *Leeds Mercury*, 26th May, 1832.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 9th June, 1832.

cause, held a great public dinner, roast beef, plum pudding and strong beer being lavishly provided. The whole town, we are told, was *en fête* for this great occasion. The day was ushered in with the firing of cannon, the ringing of the Parish Church bells, and a great display of orange flags on the chimneys of factories, on the house tops and on the vessels in the river. Shops were closed at noon. Hundreds of people sat down to the banquet held inside the Coloured Cloth Hall and in the area outside it, which was covered with canvas. George Rawson presided over 200 diners inside the Hall, Bower over the larger gathering of more than 2,000 in the yard. Macaulay and his fellow Whig candidate were present and both spoke at the dinner inside the Hall, and after dinner in the area.

When the meal was over, those who had dined inside the Hall joined those outside. Led by Bower, mounted on a grey horse of "questionable breed," to quote the *Intelligencer*, they all then went in procession along Park Row, Upper Head Row, Briggate and Duncan Street to the yard of the White Cloth Hall, halting outside the *Intelligencer* office to hiss. But when the Reformers arrived at their destination they found that, after the convivial celebration of a victory, they had to engage in a fight with their opponents, who had forestalled them at their rendezvous, having taken possession of the hustings a full hour before the procession arrived there. It had been the intention of the promoters of the demonstration that Macaulay and Marshall should discourse on the blessings of parliamentary reform, but the Tory-Radical alliance was determined to make them talk about the Ten Hours Bill. Their champions on the present occasion were the inevitable James Mann, George Wailes, the barrister, and the great Richard Oastler, who was accompanied by a certain Ralph Taylor, another ardent champion of the operatives. The alliance flaunted a placard asking the people of Leeds whether they were content that the nomination boroughs should be abolished only that Leeds should be represented by the nominee of a dictatorial cabal. Let them not be juggled into pledging themselves to support a stranger and a placeman. They were adjured: "Eat your dinners, and save your votes." The alliance were determined to demonstrate to Macaulay that he would have no walk-over.

"Mr. Macaulay," declared the *Intelligencer*, "has not been well-used. He has been told that an easy triumph awaited him in Leeds, that those who had taken him by the hand were all-powerful and influential, that he had only to present himself to overcome every difficulty and command success."

It was the intention of the Tory-Radical coalition to make it clear to Macaulay in the White Cloth Hall yard that there was a robust and vociferous opposition to him in Leeds. There was a good deal of violence in the yard and it gave the *Intelligencer* obvious satisfaction to report that Macaulay made the admission that such scenes of confusion were not congenial to him.

There certainly was at the outset considerable turmoil and confusion in the yard, the Whigs having been deprived of their platform. The *Mercury* asserted that the latter endeavoured to avoid a collision and collected at the other end of the yard, where Rawson endeavoured to address them, while the two candidates retired for shelter to an upstairs room in the Hall-keeper's house. After a while a couple of coaches were dragged into the yard, members of the committee got up upon one, and the candidates upon the other. "Here Mr. Macaulay stood in dumb show for nearly half an hour, making vain essays to address the people." For there were among the audience people who were determined to address him, in particular Richard Oastler, who was gifted with a stentorian voice and enormous pugnacity. He stormed the coach and insisted upon making himself heard. Baines objected that Oastler was a stranger and had no business to be there at all. Oastler retorted that if he was a stranger, so also was Macaulay. There was no suppressing Oastler. He insisted on discovering the candidates' opinions on the Ten Hours Bill. Marshall said quite bluntly that he would not give the Bill his support, were he elected, because he was convinced that it would not be to the advantage of the labouring classes. Oastler thanked him for his "plain and manly answer." Macaulay's reply was that if it could be proved that children were being overworked in the factories, he might support the measure, but to his questioner it seemed clear that he did not believe that this would be proved, and Oastler declared that this answer was not at all satisfactory.

On the other side the utmost satisfaction was expressed with Macaulay's bearing upon this occasion. The *Mercury* spoke of his remarkable eloquence and of his great intellectual powers.

Yorkshire did itself conspicuous honour in the selection of Brougham for the county, and Macaulay for its largest town. The *Mercury* furthermore expressed great enthusiasm regarding the whole Reform celebration of 15th June, and describing it as "beyond comparison the most interesting public festivity we ever witnessed," and especially remarkable for the gathering together in such large numbers of representatives of the upper, the middle, and the working classes of Leeds.¹³⁶

The next development in Leeds politics was the decision of the Radical Union to bring forward yet another candidate for the borough, in the barrister George Wailes. At a meeting held on 24th July it was suggested by James Mann that Wailes was better qualified to promote the interests of the working classes in Leeds than anyone else who had hitherto been proposed. It was resolved that Leeds would be best represented in Parliament by a man who was attached to the principles of equal representation, the ballot, and short parliaments, and that George Wailes,

"having invariably evinced his attachment to those principles, and contributed much towards their propagation by his zeal, industry and unflinching perseverance, this meeting considers him in every way eligible to become one of the representatives of the borough."

It does not appear that there was any intention of withdrawing support from Sadler; the idea seems rather to link together Wailes the Radical and Sadler the Tory (the champion of the ballot and short parliaments with the champion of factory reform) as against the Whig couple, Macaulay and Marshall, both of whom were severely criticised at this meeting, the former because he had admitted his total ignorance of the factory question, and the latter because he was a capitalist possessed of "the mechanical power" which "crushed the operatives, men, women, and children to the earth."¹³⁷

Wailes had already, a month before the decision of the Radicals to support him, put forward feelers. He had issued a manifesto to the electors urging that the four essential points upon which the opinions of candidates ought to be ascertained

¹³⁶ For accounts of the events of 15th June see *Leeds Mercury*, 16th and 30th, and *Leeds Intelligencer*, 21st June. In the latter will be found a long and very detailed account by Oastler of the part he played in the proceedings outside the White Cloth Hall.

¹³⁷ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 26th July, 1832.

were the extinction of negro slavery, the alteration of the existing burdensome system of taxation, the ballot, and shortened parliaments.¹³⁸ In the thrusting forward of the name of Wailes, the *Mercury* discerned a plot on the part of the anti-reformers to divide and conquer. The view was expressed that whatever electors might think of him as a reformer, they would realize that he would certainly not be serving the cause of reform, since he would merely split them into factions without having the remotest chance of success so far as his own candidature was concerned.¹³⁹

The appearance of Wailes in the capacity of a possible candidate was but fleeting, it so speedily became obvious that his position would be hopeless. When a requisition was presented to him in the following September, he declined and made the statement that he had hitherto considered a seat in the House of but little honour—it would suit neither his "habits, inclination, or future."¹⁴⁰

The month of August was a quiet one, although the rival newspapers maintained their accustomed brisk war of words. The electoral campaign started upon its final phase at the opening of September. All three candidates presented themselves as targets for the interrogations of the electorate and the public generally, assembled in great numbers in the White Cloth Hall yard on 4th September. Macaulay and Sadler had arrived the previous day. Macaulay stayed quietly with George Rawson in the latter's house in Hanover Square; but the entry of Sadler into Leeds that Monday evening was made a solemn event by his supporters. The accounts of the event given in the *Mercury* and the *Intelligencer* agree only as to the weather. Unhappily for Sadler's supporters it was wet and very nearly dark when he arrived in an open carriage about six o'clock. He was met by a procession which bore with it standards inscribed with such legends as "Wealth is produced by the industry of the poor," "The Factory Act for ever," "No infant slavery." Despite the dispiriting weather conditions, the crowd behaved in the manner appropriate to such occasions; they unharnessed the horses and proceeded to drag the carriage along Marsh Lane and Kirkgate to the centre of the

¹³⁸ *To the Electors of the Borough of Leeds*, Low Hall, 22nd June, 1832. In the possession of the Thoresby Society.

¹³⁹ *Leeds Mercury*, 30th June, 1832.

¹⁴⁰ Printed at the *Patriot* office; in the possession of the Thoresby Society.

town. Sadler's supporters had tried to arrange for a meeting at the White Cloth Hall, but the trustees of the Hall had refused. As they had allowed the use of the yard for a similar purpose to Marshall and Macaulay, the *Intelligencer* seems justified in complaining of their partisanship. As the Cloth Hall was unobtainable, hustings were erected outside the Rainbow Coffee House in New Bond Street. The *Mercury* declares that the procession passed through silent streets, Sadler meeting with a chill reception. But the weather may be blamed for that. The hustings were lighted by flambeaux but unfortunately when the procession reached New Bond Street it began to rain in torrents. Another misfortune was the non-appearance of Oastler, who was to have spoken. Sadler's speech was mainly devoted to the factory question. He declared that the condition of the children in the mills was worse than that of the felons in our gaols and the slaves on the cotton plantations, and that in fighting in their defence his cause must be blessed by God.¹⁴¹

On Tuesday, 4th September, all three candidates appeared at a mass meeting in the yard of the White Cloth Hall. After a public breakfast, at which 118 were present, Marshall and Macaulay made their way to the Hall, accompanied by Rawson, Bower, and Baines, and their other supporters. Sadler arrived on the scene a little later, his retinue being provided by a number of members of the Corporation and (to quote the *Mercury*)

"a procession of operatives, of that nondescript and mongrel class betwixt Ultra-Radicals and Ultra-Tories whom the Ten Hours Bill had induced to abandon their former radical character, and to swell the ranks of the anti-reformers, and the Leeds Corporation,"

and prominent in the throng a strange and arresting figure, "his coat hanging in two parts from the nape of the neck and otherwise much torn," yet "striding along with the airs of a king," Richard Oastler. To the *Mercury*, he was a crazed-looking tatterdemalion, an object of ridicule; to most of those who marched with him he was a prophet. There are said to have been nearly 10,000 people present at this meeting, which was opened at 10 a.m. by Joshua Bower, who introduced Macaulay. The latter indulged in some hard hits at Sadler, whom he described as a man who, having obtained power under one parliamentary system by

¹⁴¹ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 6th September; *Leeds Mercury*, 8th September.

flattering the oligarchy, was now desirous of obtaining power under another system—by cajoling the people. If, he added, a man was unable to discern abuses in the old parliamentary system, he would never be able to discern abuses anywhere at all. “ How are you to expect a just care for the rights and liberties of the people from those whose political career has been a struggle against those very rights and liberties ? ” He referred again to Sadler as the man who owed his seat in the House of Commons to the ejectments of the Duke of Newcastle. George Rawson introduced John Marshall, who was never much of an orator, but who on this as on all other occasions made a safe, sensible, honest kind of speech. Then Hall introduced Sadler, explaining the latter’s adherence to the new Parliamentary system though he had previously opposed it to the fact that Sadler was always loyal to the constitution, so that consistently with his invariable principles he now supported what he had hitherto criticized.

[*Here the MS. breaks off.*]

CONTINUATION, BY F. BECKWITH.

Proclaiming himself a life-long reformer, Bower, whose forthright speech and bluff manner never failed to enliven any meeting he attended, now sponsored Macaulay as the very man for him.¹⁴² Macaulay himself affirmed his determination to support full civil and religious liberty, peace and free trade, but on the employment of children in factories he was more equivocal, saying that it was an effect, not a cause, of distress, or a symptom rather than the disease itself, and so it was the latter that needed control, it was trade and economy that needed regulation. He attacked the record of that opponent of the Reform Bill, that supporter of the bad old system, that placeman of the wicked Duke of Newcastle, Sadler; but that he himself held a government post worth £1,200 a year he had to justify as being more democratic than the holding of one of those non-remunerative offices which were necessarily in the hands of the aristocracy and as being of

¹⁴² He rebuked Rider, secretary of the “ defunct ” Radical Union, for his interruption, telling him he was a reformer before that gentleman was born. The proceedings of this meeting, the subsequent canvass of the out-townships and the meeting of September 7th, are more easily followed in a pamphlet issued by Baines and Newsome and largely reprinted from the *Mercury: The preliminary proceedings relative to the first election of representatives for the borough of Leeds . . .* which also contains the answers of Marshall and Macaulay to the questions of the Leeds Political Union. The population of the town is noted as 123,393, and the number of £10 houses as 6,683.

great importance in itself.¹⁴³ Marshall, introduced by Rawson, reaffirmed without recapitulating his known political views, but spoke of the need for reform. He could not agree to the Ten Hours Bill, which would ruin trade, but considering the weakness of the flesh would perhaps favour a reduction of working hours from 69 to 66 or 65, being anxious to promote the welfare of the working class.¹⁴⁴

Hall's introduction of Sadler, frequently punctuated by verbal sallies from the crowd, stressed the candidate's long experience, loyalty to the constitution and zealous work for the oppressed. Sadler himself was much heckled (the *Mercury* taking excessive care to report the interruptions) until, half-way through his speech, Macaulay had to appeal for a fair hearing. His defence against those who accused him of opposing reform was, he said, unpremeditated; as for the Reform Bill, he was certainly not satisfied to take "the whole Bill and nothing but the Bill," for it disfranchised the great mass (*laughter*) and the industrious class had rights of labour if not of property. As to the way he had obtained his late seat, it was not disgraceful and certainly not unparalleled, and in any case what mattered was how he had behaved when in Parliament. He had always voted for economy. On the Ten Hours Bill he was firm and eloquent, asserting that felons were not so harshly treated as decent working men and children. Further, he was opposed to Corn Laws, West Indian slavery, war, subsidies to foreign powers, and tithes, and stood for the better administration of ecclesiastical revenues and for free trade. If he was a convert to reform, he was not alone. At this point, Smithson's obstinate interference obliged him to curtail his peroration. Lees,¹⁴⁵ secretary of the Leeds Political Union, now challenged him to reply to those questions on monopolies and taxation which the Union had put to him more than a month ago and which still remained unanswered. Thereupon Sadler pronounced his opposition to monopolies, taxes on knowledge and

¹⁴³ *I.e.*, his East India Office appointment. The £1,200 did not pass unnoticed; it formed the burden of a ballad hawked around entitled "Electors of Leeds, I perpend"

¹⁴⁴ "John Marshall's not the man for us" ("Advice in verse. By an Operative") is a ballad sheet on this theme, printed at the *Intelligencer* office.

¹⁴⁵ Lees' letter on behalf of the Union, dated August 3rd, is printed in the pamphlet mentioned above, together with the answers of Marshall and Macaulay.

the resumption of cash payments at the wrong time; he would place taxes where they were best able to be borne; "close corporations" he refused to discuss.

Next, Oastler, making an apology to Bower, asked amid much interruption what Macaulay thought of the Ten Hours Bill. Prefacing his answer by repudiating a slander on Sadler which the buffoonery of Oastler had fastened upon him, Macaulay refused to give any pledge on the Bill; a Factory Bill might be necessary, but *free* labour differed from slave labour; restriction was necessary for children but not for adults, for whom, indeed, there appeared to be no remedy. (*A voice in the crowd*, "A tax on machinery") No, said Macaulay, he could not agree. The cause was severe foreign competition.

"However unpleasant it may be to work, it is still more unpleasant to starve . . . I believe it is possible by economy—by the preservation of peace and by judicious legislation—to remove the distresses which are the causes that the labouring people are overworked."

The last word lay with Oastler, who said that if the insuperable objection to reducing working hours was excessive taxation, then that taxation should be paid out of property and not out of labour.

The *Mercury*¹⁴⁶ thought that the voice of this meeting was decisive: Sadler had now best retire; it was impossible to tell whether he was ultra-Tory or ultra-Radical, but in any case he was "crooked," "a flatterer and a wheedler," and a "cajoler of the mob," and if not without merit yet lacking in forthrightness—whereas Macaulay had all the virtues. It kept up the attack next week,¹⁴⁷ accusing Sadler of holding two sets of opinions so as to secure the support of two opposite parties. This "overflow of rancour and vanity" on the part of Baines was naturally not to the liking of the *Intelligencer*, which provided replies on handbills without the least delay. Accusations and refutations flowed undiminished week by week, and handbills, leaflets, ballad sheets and posters swelled the stream.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ 8th September, 1832. For refutations see below.

¹⁴⁷ 15th September. There are two issues of this date.

¹⁴⁸ The Tories were provoked to issue broadsheets in reply to Baines—e.g., "Falsehoods in the *Leeds Mercury* of this morning, Saturday, September 8th, 1832" (wherein six numbered mis-statements were corrected), "No. 2. Falsehoods . . . September 22nd, 1832," followed by a "Supplement" to the same, and "No. 3. Falsehoods . . ." referring to the *Mercury* of October 5th. Other leaflets will be noticed presently.

CANVASS IN THE TOWNSHIPS.

Both parties followed up the great meeting of Tuesday, September 4th, by a canvass of the out-townships, whose interest was to prove decisive. Whereas Sadler adhered to the old system of a personal canvass, much reviled by the *Mercury*, Macaulay and Marshall preferred the new and more eligible method of addressing ward meetings (Macaulay was far too busy in London, jibed the *Intelligencer*).

Sadler visited Bramley on the 5th and Hunslet on the 6th, and arrived at Holbeck (something of a storm-centre) on the 7th. Here he addressed a great meeting with Hall in the chair, at the close of which he was reconducted to Leeds with banners and band. At the Committee Room in Bond Street, Sadler was asked by Ralph Taylor, Secretary of the Operative Societies, whether he opposed the re-enactment of the combination laws, and on replying that it was lawful and indeed expedient at times for workmen to combine to protect their labour (although he would prefer a happier union of masters and men to make machinery a help and not an oppression), received Taylor's assurance of complete satisfaction. Sadler went on, assisted by Tory aldermen all the time, to Wortley and Kirkstall, and at Armley dealt with the Corn Laws and quoted his record; he was at pains to insist how the rights of the industrious classes had been ignored. On Saturday, the 8th, he made a second visit to Hunslet. Later he was at Bramley.

Further meetings of his supporters were held in St. Peter's Square, one on the 16th,¹⁴⁹ at which Ayrey accused Macaulay of desiring to be returned merely for his own advantage, another,¹⁵⁰ of the Radical Reformers, the week after, at which Sadler was considered to be the only candidate prepared to help the working classes. Oastler kept on drawing attention to the attitude of Marshall and Macaulay towards the Ten Hours Bill¹⁵¹; he chiefly attacked the elusive Macaulay; Marshall he found frank and open, but mistaken, thinking as he did that the children should labour more than ten hours a day so that the taxes might be found—“I think otherwise: I think that the taxes ought not to be found out of their labour, but out of Mr. Marshall's large mass of gold.”

¹⁴⁹ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 20th September.

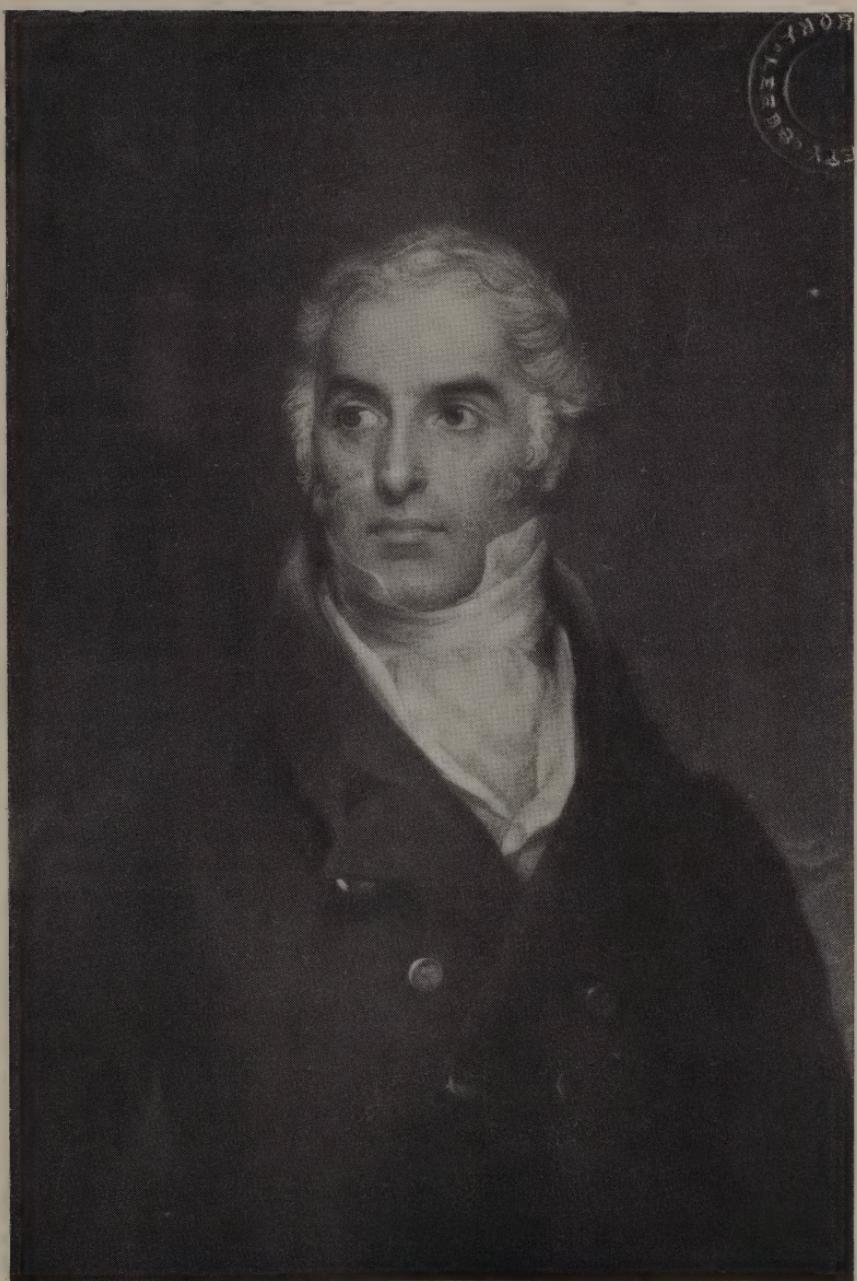
¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 27th September.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 13th September.

The visit of the Whig candidates to the out-townships¹⁵² was a "continued triumphal procession," evoking in their favour "yet more decided" feeling than in the town. On Wednesday, September 5th, Marshall and Macaulay dined at S. Clapham's and were escorted with banners and band to the hustings, headed by a procession of principal electors, who had been entertained at Bower's. Proposing Marshall, Samuel Clapham recalled past splendours when Lord Milton, Marshall senior, and Lord Brougham had been returned for the county of Yorkshire. Marshall said his views were well known, but some topics demanded particular mention—public expenditure (he stood for moderate retrenchment and a property tax), church revenues, and corn laws; as for these last, foreign competition demanded their revision, or our undoubted superiority over foreign manufacturers, due to free institutions and protection of property, would not long continue. Bower, chairman of the Hunslet Committee, introducing Macaulay in a typically racy speech, thirsted for a fight and lamented the absence of the Blues; he rallied the women and children to the cause and warned the electors in the out-townships to appreciate the value of their votes and not allow them to be split by any Tory trick. Sadler always acted from private interest, he said, but Macaulay was an honourable man. Macaulay himself declined the old way of "personal solicitation" as a matter of principle. He was a Reformer, and reform had as yet hardly begun: distress would disappear by judicious legislation and not by magic, and in the next generation England would be the wonder of Europe. He was no flatterer or deceiver of the labouring classes, but their friend, and would not have capital diverted from the country to leave foreign competitors with permanent advantage. In the afternoon a huge procession marched to Holbeck Moor in a blaze of orange. Here Macaulay was introduced by T. Benyon junior, and devoted most of his speech to a defence of his government post and to a warning against false friends. A Sadlerian, asking whether he supported a property tax, received a very qualified affirmative. Marshall repeated his known views and spoke in favour of emigration.¹⁵³

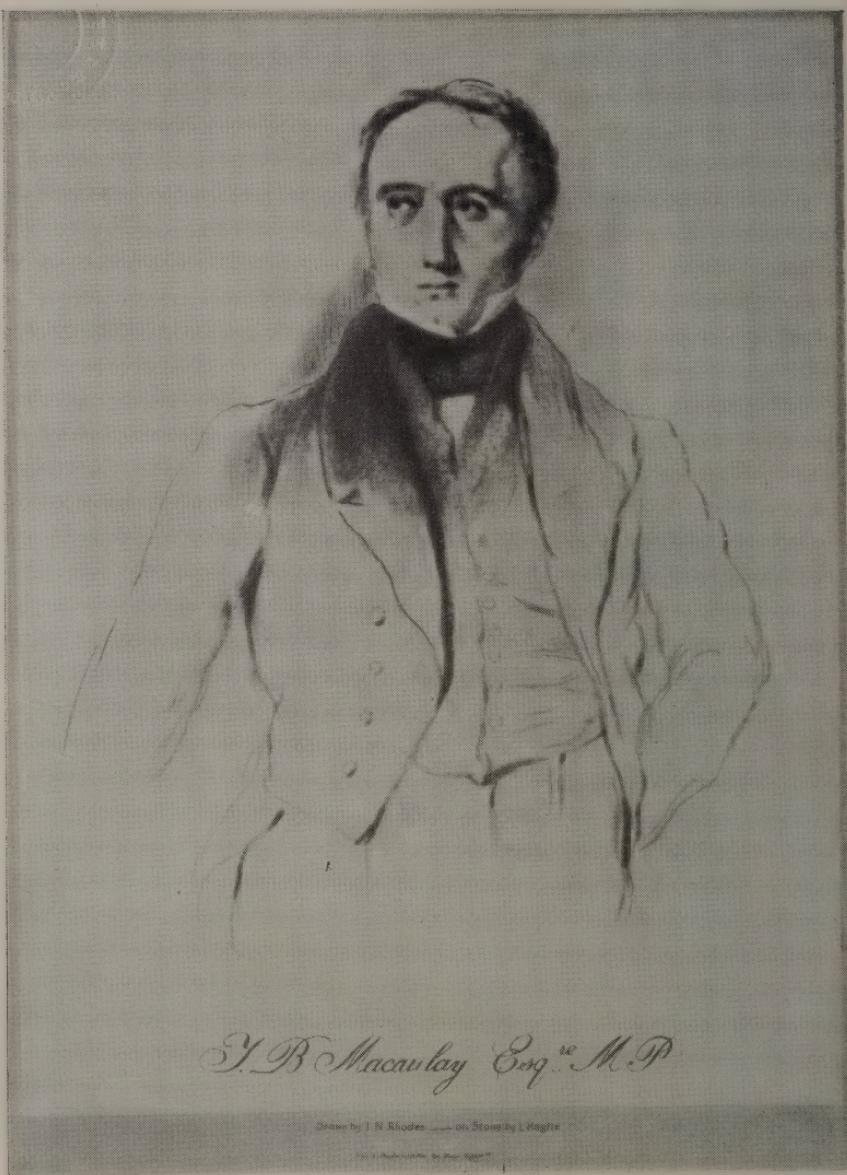
¹⁵² Details in the pamphlet quoted above.

¹⁵³ Awakening the angry muse of a Tory-Radical ballad-monger; see the verses on Van Dieman's Land, etc., below.



MICHAEL THOMAS SADLER

Plate VI



W. B. Macaulay Esq^u M.P.

Drawn by J. N. Rhodes, —— Engraved by L. Haghe

On Thursday the Whig candidates dined at Rawson's and set off for the Acorn Inn, Bramley, where a local Orange procession met them. A Tory band tried to break up the meeting, but was dispersed after a free-for-all fight. Marshall made his usual apologia, speaking mostly about factory hours. Macaulay, judiciously flattering his audience, warned them that relief and reform would work like a gradual change of regimen rather than a magic pill. The Factory Bill was quack medicine, although hours for children certainly needed regulation. A Tory print, published that day, represented him as the nominee of dissenters; he had not, he said, abandoned the Established Church, but he could not refuse a word of praise for the dissenting cause. Richardson, a solicitor, made a threefold survey of the candidates—as to public education, public record and public company—for the purpose of trouncing Sadler.

At Wortley, the next stage, the candidates were recommended jointly by Walker, of Farnley, seconded by Matthew Hall, a surgeon, both of whom animadverted on the iniquity of monopolies. Macaulay, with more flattery and rhetoric, again proclaimed that he stood for liberty, and insisting on principles, again proclaimed that reform must be gradual and action moderate as well as firm. Marshall could promise no eloquent speeches in Parliament, but could promise firm principles and right votes. At Armley Marshall spoke first, uttering prophetic words on the value of the colonies, and reiterated his known views, not without interruption, on labour and the corn laws. Fervently introduced by James Ellis, an old campaigner who had introduced Lord Milton in 1807, Macaulay was received with enthusiasm. He apologised for his weariness and added to his usual defence of liberty a vigorous criticism of Tory foreign policy. Baines was now called upon and attacked Tory stratagems in Leeds.

A less successful meeting was held on Friday at the Star and Garter Inn, Kirkstall, where the candidates repeated their views once again, and Clapham, in support, launched an attack upon Sadler's record. A grand final meeting took place in the Leeds Free Market that afternoon before an audience of some thousands of people. Macaulay overshadowed Marshall in a vigorous defence of himself against personal calumny: Tories said he was an infidel and a placeman; his answer was to survey their own sorry record in government. Ralph Taylor asked both candidates, "Will you support the Trades' Unions?" Macaulay professed ignorance

of them but supported liberty and opposed illegal combinations; Marshall frankly supported unions that were legal. A lively passage occurred between Ayrey and Macaulay on the question of household, and next universal, suffrage, both of which Macaulay refused to support, and then on the ballot and the National Debt. Sadler was quoted as advocating household suffrage, and, Ayrey later said, "common" suffrage. Macaulay said

"I will give the present Reform Bill a fair trial. The people of England wish it should have a fair trial. I altogether deny that there can be any right in a householder, as a householder, to claim to vote. If a householder has a right, why not a servant? why not a lodger? These privileges are not a matter of right, but of utility. A nation has indeed a right to be governed well, and it has a right to those things which are necessary to its being well governed; but there is no such thing as a natural right in every householder to vote. I will try the present system; if it works ill, I will endeavour to find out where the defect lies, and whether it be in the want of ballot, in the want of more extended suffrage, or in anything else, I will endeavour to get it amended."

Debonairly he shook hands with Ayrey, but such an opponent was not easily shaken off, and following up this passage of arms Ayrey issued on the 14th a sheet of corrections to Baines's false report of it and a further broadsheet, "Mr. Sadler," on the following day.

In the afternoon a dinner was held at the Commercial Buildings with the omnipresent Bower in the chair; Macaulay lavished compliments and Marshall contemplated assured success. To round off the campaign the *Mercury* congratulated the folk of the out-townships on their "honourable" conduct, their ability to distinguish between plain speaking and trickery, and their restraint from beer and bribes. That was, of course, as far as Orange influence had prevailed; the conduct of Sadler's party was beneath contempt. The *Intelligencer* was prompt in defence, but the *Mercury*¹⁵⁴ returned with a more serious charge of corruption and intimidation by the Tory "canvassing aldermen." Then, the Whigs having gone to the length of appointing a committee on the subject, Baines hastened to publish a sheet of its findings which were found to include the accusation of using bludgeons in quantity.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ September 22nd; *Leeds Intelligencer*, September 20th.

¹⁵⁵ September 29th, including a reprinting of a placard of the 26th. The *Mercury* spun out its columns on this threadbare theme far too long, week after week.

In reply, there came out a Tory placard of "Falsehoods of the Oranges," in which blame for the use of stones and bludgeons was placed on Baines and his men, against whom a new battle-cry was suggested for the Blues, "Think of Leeds and his bludgeon-men in September."

PARTY PROPAGANDA

As the time for earnest canvassing had come and the election itself loomed in sight, party feeling grew correspondingly warmer. Whether physical violence would mar the proceedings on polling days was a conjecture mercifully hidden in the future; but in the meantime political passions found an outlet in electioneering propaganda. Newspapers excluded, this literature¹⁵⁶ was harmless enough on the whole. It came out in a variety of forms, plain and coloured, in verse and in prose, displaying good humour for the greater part, and bad temper but seldom. "Lyrics for the Orange Committee," for example, were issued by the Tory party on orange paper, while the Whigs sent out ballad-sheets in blue and an occasional handbill in yellow. Coloured paper was generally reserved for the less serious or more good-natured knocks at the other side, mostly in verse; plain black and white was the medium for prose and the less good-natured and more serious thrusts at the opponents.

The verse lacks any Byronic genius of invective and its pedestrian jog-trot suits an uninspired muse, but it was good-humoured and to the point, if not so direct and inflammatory as the prose. Macaulay found himself addressing the electors thus in borrowed language:

"I beg of no man for a vote,
I always was timid and shy,
I merely presume to denote
That the 'trust is most solemn and high';
But the 'duty you have to perform,'
Electors, 'as the daylight is clear,'
In my snug little berth keep me warm,
To enjoy my TWELVE HUNDRED a year.

¹⁵⁶ Collections in the University Library, Public Library, and Thoresby Society. The newspapers also contain their quota of doggerel verse, from which, indeed, many leaflets were reprinted.

I got a snug THOUSAND for Dad,
 With the saints he has still been a crony;
 TWO THOUSAND for Henry, poor lad,
 Who's just off for Sierra Leone;
 Only think what a saving of pelf
 To the People of England is here;
 To get Harry, and Dad, and myself
 And all for FOUR THOUSAND a year ! ”

A crudely ironical appeal to the electors is signed “ Thomas Babington Hyena,” and “ a new song sung by Mr. Macaulay at the Music Hall ” was entitled “ The Hyena,” which ran thus:

“ When Sadler pleads the infants’ cause,
 A thing which suits not John nor I,
 I’ll say ’tis the Hyena’s note
 Which imitates young children’s cry.”

This refers to an unfortunate zoological remark of Macaulay’s which will be explained presently. His religious opinions occasioned a crop of bitter leaflets.

Marshall received unsolicited “ Advice in verse. By an Operative,” the burden of whose simple song was

“ John Marshall’s not the man for us,
 The working poor exclaim;
 Of politics he little knows,
 A milksop weak and tame.”

The family mills and the Marshalls’ employment of child labour were the subject of unenviable publicity, and John Marshall junior’s references to the usefulness of the British colonies made the unknown author of “ John Marshall’s address to the Electors of Holbeck ” vicariously promise, with heavy irony:

“ Make but my election certain,
 Soon I’ll lend a helping hand
 To convey you o’er the water
 To the fam’d Van Dieman’s Land.
 There no Corn Laws, Tithes, or Taxes
 Ever shall disturb your mind . . . ”

The sober lines of “ A rambling reverie by a radical reformer cylep’d William Rider ” expressed a gloomier and more general opposition:

“ But we hope honest tradesmen in Leeds will be found
 With hearts patriotic and principles sound
 Who won’t obey Neddy and basely succumb
 To Macaulay the Placeman or Marshall the dumb.”

Sadler was ardently defended by Tory writers, and besides Ayrey's continuation of the proceedings at the Market, already mentioned, there came forth, for example, a narrow folio broadsheet of four pages, entitled "The Contrast," extracted from the *Second Letter to the Electors of Leeds, by Common Sense*, giving a parallel account of the records of Macaulay and Sadler, to the advantage of the latter. He was as ardently attacked by the Whigs, for example, in *The Tables Turned . . . by An Elector*,¹⁵⁷ which, answering "Common Sense," harped on the Newcastle connection and ended thus:

"We wish not to become the laughing stock to England by giving our votes at the very first election to the man WHO STROVE TO PREVENT US FROM HAVING ANY VOTE TO GIVE."

Sadler's method of canvassing moved the Whigs to scornful derision; in "Sadler's morning call," for example, an unknown bard sang plaintively:

"And thus I've walked from house to house,
And cap in hand this morning,
Some begging mildly as a mouse,
Some licking and some fawning."

One favourite device of both parties was the distribution of a mock circus programme describing the wonderful acrobatic performances of the candidates. A fresh crop of ephemera sprang up to mark the final stage of the contest.

FINAL STAGES

October was a time of preparation for this final stage, an aftermath of preliminary skirmishings when both parties surveyed the ground, kept up their spirits in a battle of words, drilled, and awaited the issue with undiminished confidence. Macaulay wrote to the electors from London on the 15th that the canvass was nearly completed and the examination of disputed votes about to begin:

"I have not, as you are aware, asked for a single vote. I conceived that, by the Reform Bill, a high and solemn trust had been reposed in you—not for your benefit solely, still less for mine—but for the benefit of this great Empire. I conceived that it would be insulting to suppose that caresses and supplications would induce you to betray that trust. To vote for

¹⁵⁷ A tract of 16 pp., dated "Leeds, November 9th, 1832," printed by Baines, of which the Thoresby Society has a copy.

the fittest Candidate is the plain duty on an Elector. To entreat a man to perform a plain duty is no high compliment. To entreat a man to violate a plain duty is the grossest of outrages.

" If I should be returned, as I confidently expect to be returned, to the next Parliament, by the people of Leeds, I shall be returned in a manner honourable to them and to me, without having spent one shilling, without having begged one vote, without having flinched from one question, without having concealed or softened down one opinion, without deception, without corruption, and without intimidation . . . "

The last day for making objections, and claims, to insertion in the voters' lists had been fixed for October 24th. The Revising Barrister, Wilkinson Mathews, took from that day until November 13th to assess them, and to his work, in new and difficult circumstances, Hall paid tribute on behalf of all parties. The findings, as published in the official *List*,¹⁵⁸ yield the following statistics of voters: Leeds, 1-2724 (a); Armley, 2724-2877; Beeston, 2878-2939; Bramley, 2940-3253; Chapel Allerton, 3254-3358; Farnley, 3359-3417; Headingley cum Burley, 3418-3535; Holbeck, 3536-3736; Hunslet, 3737-3984; Potternewton, 3985-4034; Wortley, 4035-4171. Disputes over the list have been mentioned, but the total represented only three and a half per cent. of the town's population and came far short of Baines's estimate of 6,683 £10 houses. The name of each voter was supplied, together with the nature of his qualification and the street or other place in which his property was situated. The revision was naturally followed with the keenest interest by the rival parties, and figures of gains and losses for the candidates were printed which confirmed the impression, or the hope, of each side that it had done better than its opponent. The truth was to be tested in the future, but happy in its optimistic conjectures the *Mercury* reckoned that Macaulay and Marshall had 473 'good' votes and 124 'bad'; whilst Sadler had 243 'good' and 194 'bad,' thus giving the former a majority

¹⁵⁸ *The List of persons entitled to vote in the election of members in the Borough of Leeds . . . as revised by Wilkinson Mathews . . .* (Leeds, Hernaman and Perring, 1832, pp. 77, xlix). The questions and oath asked of each voter are printed therein, and a certificate of authenticity, signed by Tennant, inserted in the book. The tentative figures given in the *Mercury* for 17th November total 4,161; the number becomes, correctly, 4,172 in the official analysis of the actual poll (see *post*) as there were two voters numbered 2724. In October, 1945, the electors of Leeds numbered 326,252. The *Mercury* gave details of many disputed claims in its issue of October 27th, summarised gains and losses in that of November 3rd, and printed a full account of the Bramley proceedings on November 10th.

of 230; but as Sadler also had 70 more votes struck out than Macaulay and Marshall, the real majority in favour of the Orange candidates was 300. The *Intelligencer* had first claimed for Sadler a gain of 233 by new claims as against his opponents' 153, but later reduced the number to 103, or perhaps 88 for sure.¹⁵⁹ "Lyrics for the Orange Committee, No. 6" harps on the theme with some point, bearing in mind the Bramley mills dispute, already mentioned:

A SONG OF TRIUMPH.

Hurra ! be off ! ply whip and spur !
 Tell Bramley's hills and dales,
 'Fore the revising barrister
 The Orange cause prevails.
 Ye Orange mills, illuminate,
 For tho' we've lost, we own,
 On the whole poll some eighty-eight,
We've gained the forty-one !
 Veracious Mr. Baines, indeed,
 In summing up the poll,
 Makes our majority exceed
 "The tottle of the whole";
 A slight mistake ! But all is right,
 If yet it can be shown,
 That tho' we lose the eighty-eight,
We gain the forty-one !

Details of the arrangements for the polling booths followed.¹⁶⁰

Towards the end of November tension grew; nomination day was almost at hand and little time remained for final speeches and demonstrations. On the 21st a meeting was requisitioned by the Tories, and allowed by the Mayor, nominally to consider the Dutch war; in reality (so the Whigs averred) it was a mere ruse to try and bolster up the declining Tory interest. The Whigs were obviously determined to wreck the meeting, and achieved their aim, for the Mayor, unable to make himself heard, dissolved it, and each party separated to hold a meeting of its own. The *Mercury* proudly recorded how this "feeble" Tory "manœuvre," which had no chance of success, had been effectually quashed.

A series of great Liberal meetings was held in the Music Hall on November 29th and 30th, and December 2nd, 3rd and 4th,

¹⁵⁹ *Leeds Mercury*, 17th November; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 1st and 15th November.

¹⁶⁰ See above, p. 13.

to which electors were invited so many each evening—those of Mill Hill and High Town, for example, to the first.¹⁶¹ Macaulay gave a course on political economy.¹⁶² Enthusiasm ran high, but on December 4th, when he had ended his speech and questioning had begun, he saw the meeting marred by disturbing, and to him irrelevant, questions about his religious views: Sir George Trevelyan has rescued the incident from oblivion and it will be mentioned presently. At this very moment Lord Morpeth and George Strickland were in Leeds on a canvass of their own for the West Riding election, and their presence added to the Whig enthusiasm and rejoicing and to the support of Macaulay and Marshall. The Whig cause appeared to be overwhelmingly triumphant.

On Tuesday, December 4th, it was reported that Oastler had received a deputation from Keighley with a request that he would stand as candidate for the West Riding: though he complied, his candidature was a forlorn Tory hope. The Leeds Tories held a public breakfast on the 3rd, with Hall in the chair. Sadler's speech argued that the monopoly of power which the Whigs were endeavouring to secure in Leeds would exclude much of the wealth and industry of the town from representation; he had never wished his party to have a "monopoly of the power in the senate of the country"; both sides should be heard in any "assembly selected to represent and faithfully protect the varied interests of this great community." He defended his canvass. Dealing with the accusation of Radicalism levelled against him, he roused his audience with one of those oratorical flights for which he was so renowned: if to lift up his voice for the poor was Radicalism, he was a Radical,

"if I had confined my efforts to the prosperous and happy, if I had spoken only in favour of those principles of political economy by which we are to make the rich still richer, and the poor still poorer and more degraded, then I should have been by no party called a Radical; but I thank God I have taken a contrary course."

"Very loud cheering" followed.

¹⁶¹ The Thoresby Society possesses the actual invitation to "Mr. J. P. Smith," signed by George Rawson, chairman, for the meeting of November 29th.

¹⁶² See Appendix for a specimen of "Mr. Macaulay's lectures." Macaulay and Marshall held subordinate meetings at Hunslet and Holbeck.

THE CANDIDATES CHARACTERIZED

In its last issue before the election, the *Mercury*¹⁶³ summed up the character of the candidates. Sadler, the life-long enemy to reform and religious liberty, might, with strength of principles, have become an amiable and useful man, but his weakness of judgment and want of rectitude and manliness had ruined his character. His talents and his command of language were considerable, but ever since he had become a candidate for Leeds his whole course of conduct had been marred by subserviency, duplicity and inconsistency. Marshall was the very reverse of his Tory opponent, a gentleman of sound judgment and stable character, with (an odd confession by Baines, made without suspicion of denigration) no fertility of speech or imagination. To express the splendour of Macaulay's talents or the meritoriousness of his conduct was a task for which even the *Mercury*'s immense verbal resources were inadequate. The *Intelligencer*¹⁶⁴ waited until the election was over before it delivered its judgment. It reserved its spleen for Macaulay: he belonged to a most pestiferous class of politicians, ran the estimate, a statesman by trade, one who could not afford to keep conscience, one whose very object in getting into Parliament was to get into place. Of Marshall, the *Intelligencer* avowed that it had all along refrained from speaking harshly; he was amiable in private life and his wealth and connexion with the trade of the town secured him some claim to consideration from those who could concur with his religious principles and political opinions; but his senatorial talents and experience were of the lowest order, and he could not be looked upon as the man who ought to have been chosen for Leeds.

As nomination day drew near, rumours, accusations and refutations began to circulate afresh. Whig ridicule of Sadler's lick-spittle method of canvassing has been mentioned; it was an obvious source of amusement and scorn to those who imagined they had found a new and better way. Sadler could not, apparently, even attend divine worship unprompted by vote-catching; he had attended Roman Catholic and Wesleyan chapels for that purpose, said the *Mercury*,¹⁶⁵ and would doubtless have gone to

¹⁶³ 8th December.

¹⁶⁴ 20th December.

¹⁶⁵ 20th November.

a mosque had there been such a place in Leeds. Again he was accused of attempting a compromise with the Reformers, so as to split the votes; this was doubtless a reply to his claim that the Whigs were seeking a monopoly of power in Leeds, with its implication that Leeds needed a Tory member to balance a Whig. His attempt to play Janus, one face to the rich Blues and one to the poor Radicals, has been mentioned.¹⁶⁶ One crowning rumour remained. So cocksure were the Whigs (circumstances appeared to confirm their wishful thinking) that they put it about that Sadler intended to withdraw. The rumour was promptly denied by the *Intelligencer*,¹⁶⁷ where Sadler himself also inserted an advertisement to the same effect; so far indeed was he from retiring that he was sure he would win:

“ Finding that a Report has been circulated (for an obvious purpose) that I intend to resign the Contest for Leeds, and thereby surrender the Independence of the Borough into the Hands of Political Monopolists, I feel it my Duty to assure you of the Falsehood of this Report. I pledge myself to give to every Elector an opportunity of exercising his suffrage, confident, from the numerical superiority of my Friends, and from their unshaken firmness, notwithstanding the attempts which have been made to seduce them, that I shall be placed at the head of the Poll.”

A periodical squib called *The Cracker* backed up Sadler on the eve of the poll: six brief numbers were followed by a seventh, and obituary, issue. The first four were answered by a single issue of *The Retort*, and by a narrow folio leaflet, *The Cracker Cracked. Dedicated to the Sad-liar Committee*: in this were some verses, “The principles of sound,” which surveyed Sadler’s principles:

“ Oh pity this poor Corporation hack—
This M T thing of words, and wind, and sound;
Send him to Parliament, oh send him back
And do not thus his humane feelings wound.

Pity him, for he sang the praises of Pitt,
A Corporation tune now rather stale;
Oh give him just one seven years’ leave to sit,
His principles of sound will then prevail.”

¹⁶⁶ Cf. *Leeds Mercury*, 8th September, *ut sup.*

¹⁶⁷ 6th December.

There follows a survey of repressive Tory acts from Peterloo onwards, with references by name to local and national personalities, among whom are Hall, Oastler and Mann:

“Don’t mention THISTLEWOOD, ’tis very wrong,
The MANN is dead who might have sav’d his life;
If he was fugle-MANN to SADLER’S throng,
It only prov’d them partners in the strife.

Send SAD-LIAR back to Parliament again,
Don’t let the *Corporation* HALL go mad;
They’ll soon be bad to catch, I tell you plain,
You’d better please them while they’re to be had.

Spare this “*Arm-dropping*” CORPORATION drudge,
His RAILROAD slip show’d judgment most profound;
Send him to Parliament without a grudge—
He’ll never change—*HIS PRINCIPLES ARE SOUND.*”

Marshall, when not dismissed as a harmless nonentity, was attacked for his views on the factory system and hours of labour as exemplified in the paternal “Satanic mills” south of the river. Nevertheless, added the *Intelligencer* on December 6th, he was pushing ahead of Macaulay. Baines received the unwelcome attention of William Cobbett in the *Register* of November 24th.

Macaulay had been attacked frontally as a placeman all along; now there came a flanking attack on his faith. The Whigs had resolved that they

“will have nothing to do with the introduction of the solemn and sacred subject of Religion”

in the discussion of politics, a decision which in itself aroused fierce opposition.¹⁶⁸ Sir George Trevelyan asserts that both Whig candidates were accused of Unitarianism. Marshall was certainly a Unitarian and was backed by a Unitarian father and other prominent Unitarians such as Fretwell the grocer and Tottie the solicitor; that half of the charge was true. What Macaulay was, no-one knew, and a rumour of his infidelity, referring back to Cambridge days, was bandied about. At the meeting in the Music Hall, on December 4th, a schoolmaster and local preacher, Marmaduke Flower, was bold enough to ask for Macaulay’s religious opinions. Instantly Macaulay was on his feet. “Let

¹⁶⁸ A large poster, issued after the meeting of December 4th, attacks Macaulay and Marshall (not forgetting John Clapham and Rawson) on this point: “Christian Electors of Leeds! . . .” (in the possession of the Thoresby Society).

that man stand up," he cried, "let him stand on a form where I can see him." The admiring biographer continues his uncle's treatment of the "offender" thus:¹⁶⁹

He "was hoisted on to a bench by his indignant neighbours, nerving himself even in that terrible moment by a lingering hope that he might yet be able to hold his own. But the unhappy man had not a chance against Macaulay, who harangued him as if he were the living embodiment of religious intolerance and illegitimate curiosity. 'I have heard with the greatest shame and sorrow the question which has been proposed to me; and with peculiar pain do I learn that this question was proposed by a minister of religion. I do most deeply regret that any person should think it necessary to make a meeting like this an arena for theological discussion. I will not be a party to turning this assembly to such a purpose. My answer is short, and in one word; Gentlemen, I am a Christian.' At this declaration the delighted audience began to cheer; but Macaulay would have none of their applause. 'This is no subject,' he said, 'for acclamation. I will say no more. No man shall speak of me as the person who, when this disgraceful inquisition was entered upon in an assembly of Englishmen, brought forward the most sacred subjects to be canvassed here, and be turned into a matter for hissing or for cheering. If on any future occasion it should happen that Mr. Carlyle should favour any large meeting with his infidel attacks upon the Gospel, he shall not have it to say that I set the example. Gentlemen, I have done; I tell you, I will say no more; and if the person who has thought fit to ask this question has the feelings worthy of a teacher of religion, he will not, I think, rejoice that he has called me forth.'"

The questioners had not done, however: the Blue placard entitled "Christian Electors of Leeds!" which was full of *odium theologicum*, was answered by an Orange production denouncing the falsehoods of this base anonymous production, but another leaflet, "Methodism and Hypocrisy," referring to the episode praised the action of a persistent opponent, Rev. Gilyard Scarth. Perhaps the most outspoken opposition came from Rev. G. S. Bull, incumbent of Bierley, who had served as missionary in the same part of Africa where Kenneth Macaulay was making a fortune in trade. He rebuked Macaulay for his references to Sadler's "convenient philanthropy" and likeness to an hyena: "YOU ARE A CHRISTIAN," he repeated again and again.

¹⁶⁹ *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ch. v. Neither the date of the meeting nor the name of the offender is given.

How then could such a one liken his competitor to an hyena because he raised his voice, and incidentally lost his friends, on behalf of the helpless victims of an unchristian system? "You are a Christian! . . . what were those who ran to the factories at 5 a.m., there to stay till 8 p.m.?" He lashed the whole Macaulay family, leaders against Negro slavery who "see a thousand redeeming qualities in White Infant Slavery." Being answered by the *Mercury*, Bull proceeded to defend the Ten Hours Bill ("if you will not give it, the factory children and their parents will take it") and attack Baines with equal violence. The *Intelligencer's* comment on the episode which had given rise to this minor controversy was that a reluctant avowal had been extracted from Macaulay, "but whether real or nominal" was not known.

NOMINATION DAY, POLLING AND RESULT.

On the day of nomination, events began to stir early. After splendid breakfasts the candidates arrived at the hustings in good time, accompanied by processions with bands and banners. The Mayor did not arrive till the appointed hour of ten o'clock. The *Mercury* was amazed to see that on the hustings "Mr. Beckett" and "Mr. Hall" "allowed themselves to be elbowed by such fellows as Ralph Taylor and John Ayrey." Sadler was proposed by Hall, seconded by Beckett,¹⁷⁰ and spoke for nearly an hour amidst deafening confusion, which did not abate for the other candidates either. They were all inaudible. Marshall was proposed by T. Benyon, seconded by J. Musgrave; Macaulay was proposed by Marshall senior and seconded by Rawson. The Mayor declared that the show of hands was decidedly in favour of Marshall and Macaulay, who were therefore elected. Hall thereupon demanded a poll (a quarter of an hour earlier, said the *Intelligencer*, the show of hands would have forced the Whigs to demand it, but in the meantime Baines's men had whipped up stragglers from the alleys, public houses and streets and emptied five or six mills), and the Mayor granted it as promised. The meeting broke up into rival processions.

Writing the life of his father long after the election, Sir Edward Baines gave no great space to the actual proceedings, but con-

¹⁷⁰ This speech of the much admired Beckett was reprinted as a hand-bill: he was almost alone in being admired by both parties.

veyed the idea that they were carried through with model sobriety and purity. At the time, he and his father gave a different impression to the world, for on the 11th they lost no time in sending out a *Mercury* "Extraordinary" accusing the Tories and ultra-Radicals of promoting disgraceful scenes.¹⁷¹ Hundreds of the lowest class, it averred, had been hired, plied with gin, armed with bludgeons and stones, and set to carry inflammatory and atrocious flags; fortunately the peaceable Liberals had outnumbered these mercenaries by ten to one. Two days later the *Intelligencer* retorted that it was Baines and his crew who had provoked disorder:

"the freedom with which the Orange party in this town are now spending their money, shows in one respect, at least, the advantage of having a Treasury candidate."

The most interesting event of the day, it went on, had been "The Battle of the Standard." When Marshall senior proposed Macaulay, the Ten Hours Bill party paraded a flag depicting Marshalls' mill in Water Lane at five o'clock on a winter morning, with half-naked children trudging their way to work in a snow-storm. "Baines's hired men pull it down—it is rescued." Flags of the Holbeck Union were torn down. Orangemen on the roof threw down tiles. There was a "helter-skelter retreat." People were trampled underfoot. A "regular battle" was in progress when, judging matters out of hand, the Mayor ordered special constables to divide the warring factions, and order was restored, not before eleven persons were found to need the ministrations of the General Infirmary.¹⁷²

Macaulay wrote to his sister Hannah on the 12th, giving the state of the poll at four o'clock of the first day: Marshall 1804, Macaulay 1792, Sadler 1353. He added that out of the 4000 electors, 3100 had already polled and 500 would not vote:

"The probability is that Sadler will give up the contest. If he persists he will be completely beaten."¹⁷³

Macaulay and Marshall, at least, issued placards of encouragement to the electors recommending them to complete a resounding

¹⁷¹ The riotous scenes on nomination day are portrayed with verisimilitude by Mrs. G. L. Banks in her novel *Wooers and winners* (1880), chapter xiv of vol. II, where she also mentions the grave cholera epidemic. The Tories issued a congratulatory handbill, "Preserve order, forsooth ! ! " (in the possession of the Thoresby Society).

¹⁷² Parsons' *History of Leeds*, i, 162.

¹⁷³ Trevelyan, *op. cit.*

victory. Sadler persisted, and was beaten. Placards were issued immediately on the declaration of the result, the Whigs adding a handbill, "Leeds Races Extraordinary," which placed the candidates thus:

"The 'Holbeck Colt REFORMER, by Flaxspinner,' rode by Rawson	..	..	..	(Orange) 1
The 'Ministerial Colt, by Zachariah, out of Scotland,' Baines	..	..	..	(Yellow) 2
The 'Pie-bald Colt BOROUGHMONGER, by Newcastle, out of Close Corporation,' Hall	..	..	..	(Blue) 3

The candidates thanked their supporters in the newspapers.

Details of the result as published in a handbook issued in 1833¹⁷⁴ showed that of the 4172 voters (2724 in Leeds and 1,448 in the out-townships) 3548 had voted (2304 in Leeds and 1244 in the townships) as follows:

		Marshall	Macaulay	Sadler
Total votes for	..	2011	1983	1587
Apart from the out-townships		1287	1247	1049
Plumpers ..	..	20	21	932
		18	18	448
Splits, Sadler and Marshall,	79 and 39 (118)			
Sadler and Macaulay,	38 and 51 (89)			

Votes rejected, 39.

This total differs but slightly from the figures quoted on the Tory placard or in the newspapers; the analysis by booths given in the latter¹⁷⁵ indicates where Sadler was held in low esteem:

		Marshall	Macaulay	Sadler
A (S. & S.W.)	..	165	157	79
B (Mill Hill)	..	170	161	149
C (Lower N.W.)	..	163	170	130
D (N. & Upper N.E.)	..	169	172	152
E (High Town)	..	168	150	173
F (Kirkgate)	..	134	130	102
G (E., N.E., Lower N.E., S.E.)	179	183	122	
H (Upper N.W.)	..	140	125	151
I (Hunslet)	..	146	152	65
K (Holbeck, Beeston)	..	143	134	91
L (Wortley, Armley, Farnley)	139	164	166	
M (Bramley)	..	201	205	81
N (Headingley)	..	50	36	53
O (Chapel Allerton & Potternewton)	..	45	45	28

¹⁷⁴ *Leeds Borough Election Poll, 1832* (Leeds, 1833, 1/-).

¹⁷⁵ *Leeds Mercury*, 15th December; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 20th December. The full names and addresses of the polling stations have been given above, p. 13. In the *Mercury* of December 15th the names of the Deputy Returning Officers are also given.

The claim of the Whigs that the out-townships' votes would prove decisive was justified, especially in Bramley, Hunslet, and Holbeck, where Sadler lost heavily; in the more respectable districts he was well in front. The *Intelligencer*¹⁷⁶ pointed out how Sadler had polled 1379 plumpers, "embracing three fourths of the property, respectability and intelligence of the borough," against Marshall's mere 38 and Macaulay's 39; some of his supporters had kept back from "prudential reasons" (possibly seeing after the first day's poll that it was useless to vote), but (as the Tory leaflet which announced the result put it), "as Mr. Sadler had many votes in reserve, it is evident that the Blue Cause must triumph at the next election." He addressed the "Independent Electors" by means of an advertisement in the *Intelligencer* of the 20th, regretting that contrary to the reasonable expectation of his friends he had been in a minority. "I am, however, infinitely more satisfied to be in that position, than to have triumphed by those base and wicked arts which have been practised against me, and by which my opponents have ensured their success."

In announcing the result, the Mayor thanked the crowd for its attention, adding that his pleasure would have been great, could he forget the very different scene in the same place on the preceding Monday; he hoped no rioting would occur that day. Marshall and Macaulay addressed the meeting and were supported by Lord Morpeth and Fawkes. Rawson announced the arrangements for the "chairing," an ornamented car covered in orange silk and decorated with ribands and laurel, and drawn by four grey horses with postillions in orange silk jackets and caps. This last ceremony, thought the *Intelligencer*, was tame and silly; the supporters were mostly hired men, "with bludgeons like bed-posts." The *Mercury* on the other hand averred that Sadler's friends had been so profuse with beer that many hired followers of bands and flags were soon staggering drunk round the town, furious in their gestures, some armed with blue favours and formidable bludgeons. There had been no single breach of the peace by the Liberals.

On the 21st, both parties held a dinner for the respective candidates. The Tories met at the Music Hall, and the *Mercury*¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ 20th December.

¹⁷⁷ 29th December.

scoffed at the lack of gloom or disappointment there, as if they were under the persuasion of a great triumph. Hall spoke as a true Tory (added the *Mercury*), but Sadler as a Radical, his theme that "the people are entirely without representation," being reiterated to the last. The *Intelligencer's*¹⁷⁸ explanation was that Sadler had dealt with the charge that, because one of his objections to the Reform Bill was that the lower orders were excluded from the franchise, he had become a sudden convert to universal suffrage, in order to "tickle his operative friends," and was a Radical.

The Whigs held their dinner at the Commercial Buildings.¹⁷⁹ Marshall senior was in the chair and spoke of the election as an example of purity for all future elections. Marshall and Macaulay spoke, the healths of Morpeth and Strickland were drunk, and various toasts were proposed in favour of liberty and reform, not forgetting "our able and powerful allies the Editors of the *Leeds Mercury* and the *Liberal Press*." At Bramley public rejoicings were held on December 25th, John Haley giving away huge quantities of beef to 1065 families there, and contributing to the expenses of Macaulay and Marshall.

Let us leave them rejoicing; the electors of Leeds had brief joy in them. In a short time the work had to be done all over again—twice. In 1834 Macaulay resigned on becoming a member of the Supreme Council in India, and Sadler could not be induced to accept nomination (he had not long to live in any event): in 1835 Parliament was dissolved, and Marshall had decided not to stand again (and he, too, died shortly afterwards, still in his thirties). Baines reaped his reward; in 1834 he replaced Macaulay, and he and Beckett were the new members in 1835.

¹⁷⁸ 27th December.

¹⁷⁹ *Leeds Mercury*, 22nd December. On December 17th the Mayor informed the Committees for the Candidates that payments to the following officers would be required:

	£	s.	d.
14 Deputy Returning Officers, each 3 days at 2 gns. a day	88	4	0
14 Poll Clerks	1	gn.	.. 44 2 0
14 Commissioners for Booths, each 2 days at 1 gn.	..	29	8 0
Total, £161 14s. 0d., or £53 18s. 0d. for each candidate.			

APPENDICES

MR. MACAULAY'S LECTURES.

Mr. MACAULAY'S Committee respectfully and particularly request that the Electors of Leeds will attend Mr. MACAULAY'S LECTURE, at the Music-Hall, THIS EVENING, as per Circular.

Mr. M's Committee have deemed this mode of Canvassing and addressing the Electors the most advisable, and they are glad to report it has Mr. M's most unqualified approbation—and they also trust, that it will have the concurrence of all *parties* of the Electors, inasmuch as it will oppose the intrusion of the rabble—that is, people who have no Votes—who, in all probability, would prevent the sensible Electors hearing that which it is utterly impossible themselves should understand.

Mr. MACAULAY'S First Lecture will shew the necessity of teaching the Labouring Classes, by means of Low Wages, Long Hours of Labour, abolishing Poor Laws, and other such salutary measures, the subordination due to their Superiors; and will also demonstrate the truth of the doctrine of MALTHUS, viz—"That human beings multiply too fast" and consequently shew the necessity of adopting measures to prevent the increase of the working classes until they would themselves consume too great a portion of the FRUITS of their labour.

Committee Room, 29th NOV. 1832.

[Handbill]

ELECTORS
OF THE
Borough of Leeds.

GENTLEMEN,

With feelings of the warmest pleasure I congratulate you on the result of this day's Poll. An attempt has been made to introduce into Leeds, all the Corruption and intimidation which disgraced the Elections of Newark: and an ingenious malevolence has employed against us arts such as even Newark never witnessed. Slander and Hypocrisy, Threats and Caresses, Bludgeons and Gin, have done their worst; and the result is, that the cause of Reform has triumphed in this great community, by means worthy of such a community, and of such a cause.

I have but one word to add. Let not the advantage which you have obtained induce you to relax in your exertions. Persist. Be firm. Be vigilant. Remember how desirable it is that your Success should be complete and decisive. Be content with nothing short of a final Victory over those, who, having long misgoverned you by means of a vicious Representative System, are now attempting to misgovern you by means of that Franchise which you have at length acquired in despite of them.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful, humble Servant,

T. B. Macaulay.

[Placard on the result of Wednesday's poll. There is a similar one for Marshall. Both in possession of Thoresby Society.]

Lyrics
for the Orange Committee.
No. 5.

Canzonet by a Candidate.

Air—"O no, we never mention her."

O no, they never mention me, my name is never heard
In "Peter" or the "Mercury," by blackguard or by bard;
They sing to Tom Macaulay's fame, they got him splits, but yet
To mention once *John Marshall's* name, how strangely they forget!

They say I shall have votes enow; I really think they scoff,
And twixt their plumpers and their splits they mean to split me
off!

Yet when they smile and bow to me, the old Committee's debt
And the meagre new subscription list they think that I forget!

Macaulay won't one shilling pay whatever may befall,
The Whigs a farthing won't subscribe, so I must pay for all,
And after that be "jockey'd";—well! I dare not fume nor fret,
But what I've paid and have to pay, I never can forget!

I undergo the very worst of coalition ills,
They give Macaulay all their votes, they give me all their bills,
They plump Macaulay—me they plump o'er head and ears in
debt;
Ah me! the printer's bill I see, how can I e'er forget!

HERNAMAN AND PERRING, PRINTERS, LEEDS

"There must be something Wrong!"

A Lyric
For the Orange Committee.
A Doubtful Ditty.

Good lackaday ! good lackaday !
We really cannot see
Why things should take a turn this way
What can the matter be ?
We know we're sure to win again !
We state it clear and strong ;
But notwithstanding this,—'tis plain
There must be *something* wrong !

The Holbeck Union Council still
Meet on the appointed day,
And yet its zealous members will
Do every thing but *pay*.
We shout and swear; we drink and bet ;
Make speeches loud and long ;
We cannot, dare not, doubt—but yet
There must be something wrong !

Friend Shackleton is not at ease,
Poor Smithson's eyebrows lour ;
Where is the brass of Mr. Lees ?
The joke of Jossy Bower ?
An air of sober sadness taints
Each meeting's fullest throng.
The sinners curse, and groan the saints,
There must be something wrong !

Lo ! in the court great Cl-ph-m sits,
That Orange claims may win ;
How fierce his frown, how stern by fits
His dark sardonic grin !
We fear that St-nsf-d's numbers round
And list of voters long
Will pay but twopence in the pound—
There *must* be something wrong !

How chang'd is R-ws-n's trumpet-tone,
How Bl-ckb-rn's anger burns ;
And sleek and holy R-n
Now raves and whines by turns ;
Matt. foams and tears, and M-g-n swears
Thro' brick walls stout and strong ;
Objections fail, Claims don't prevail,—
There *must* be something wrong !

Loud bray'd the Neddies old and young
 They'd make a change in times,
 For the junior Editor had strung
 Some vastly witty rhymes;
 But we must own that when they came
 It was a sorry song !
 And, Phœbus ! what an Epigram !—
 There MUST be something wrong !

HERNAMAN AND PERRING, PRINTERS, LEEDS.

[A narrow sheet, 3" x 9½", on yellow paper.]

A NEW SONG [Yellow paper.]
 For the Leeds Election.

Appointed to be sung at the Orange Committee Dinners.

TRIO.

ON THE JUST AND WELL-EARNED PROMOTION OF

Thomas Babington Macaulay, Esq. M.P.

And Zachary* Macaulay, Esq.

FATHER OF THE AFORESAID TOM.

BOWER Tom Macaulay's got a place,
 SMITHSON .. And so has Zachary.†
 LEES Is it for figure—or is it for face.
 Or is it for Quackery ?

Slow Recitative.

BOWER Each a gentleman at large
 Fed and kept at public charge
 Tom for India now petitions,
 Dad for *charities* commissions;
 Charity begins *at home*,
 So thinks Dad, and so thinks Tom.

SMITHSON .. Bumpers off for honest Tom,
 Charge your glass for Daddy Zack.

LEES What's the chorus to your song ?

ALL Quack ! Quack ! Quack ! Quack !

BOWER Tom can speak and Tom can spout.
 SMITHSON .. Zack is *in* who once was *out*.

LEES Tom has tropes, and words at will.
 Dad knows how to touch the 'SIL.'

Slow Recitative.

BOWER From Guinea's coast, deserted Blacky
 No more will sue to honest Zachy,
 Powder, arms, and such like stores,
 No more be sent to Africk's shores,
 Zack no more will hear the moan,
 Borne on breeze from *Sierr' Leone*:
 Tom will care no more for *Scindiah*,
 Once Commissioner of India.

Allegro

SMITHSON .. Tom no more will hold a brief,
 Better fee'd to make a speech.
 LEES Sure promotion can't be rare,
 When Zack is made *Commissionnaire*.

Slow Recitative.

BOWER Hindoos, Burmese, and Maylays,
 Widows' Suttees now may blaze;
 Who cares, mid'st such blissful changes,
 What is done on *Ind* or *Ganges*?
 Dad no more than Bengal tiger
 Heeds what's going on at *Niger*.[†]
 Leathern thongs on Negroes back,
 In the Carribees may crack,
 All is one to Daddy Zack. } }

SMITHSON .. Bumpers then for honest Tom,
 Charge your glass for Daddy Zack.
 LEES What's the chorus to your song ?
 ALL Quack ! Quack ! Quack ! Quack !

* Zachary Macaulay, Esq. Charity Commissioner, £1000 per annum. Thomas Babington Macaulay, Esq. M.P. Commissioner to the Board of Control, £1,200 per annum. Mr. W. H. Macaulay, son of said Zachary and brother of said Thomas Babington, has also a snug salary of £1900 as *Mixed* Commissioner at Sierra Leone. Rejoice, O Yellows ! Fine Pickings ! The Macaulays for ever !

† Should any troublesome person wish to know for what services Mr. Z. Macaulay has been thus rewarded with a place, we beg to inform him that the present Ministry being Malthusians, could not do less for one who has so materially thinned our population by the kindness of his encouragement of the thriving settlement of Sierra Leone, where the Honourable Commissioner will be remembered from generation to generation. That is, from week to week.

‡ The great river of that name.

NOMINATION DAY, 10 DECEMBER 1832.
ELECTION SLOGANS.

(a) SADLERIAN.

“ Amongst the standards and flags exhibited in the procession was one containing an address from the operative classes of Manchester to the electors of Leeds calling upon them to return Mr. Sadler as one of their representatives to Parliament; this address was signed by upwards of 40,000 persons and measured more than 200 feet in length, one half of which was pasted on both sides of a large standard. Another represented a skeleton on a black ground with a yellow border, holding in its right hand a scroll inscribed ‘ Anatomy bill to better the condition of the helpless poor.’ Underneath the words, ‘ Macaulay and the Anatomy Bill.’ A third standard represented a view of Messrs. Marshall’s mill in Water-lane in a snow storm on a winter’s morning, with several poor decrepid and half-naked factory children trudging in a shivering attitude through the snow; on the picture were painted the words, ‘ A Scene in Water-lane at five o’clock in the morning.’ We also observed a splendid Union Jack and sundry other flags, principally blue, but some white, with the following inscriptions: ‘ Sadler the Champion of the Rights of Industry’; ‘ Sadler and his great Measure to better the Condition of the Working Classes—Factory Bill, Agricultural Labourers’ Bill and Provision for the Poor of Ireland’; ‘ The Factory Bill: Union is Strength: Persevere’; ‘ Marshall and Macaulay and Starvation or Emigration for ever’; ‘ Ten Hours Bill’; ‘ Sadler, the Friend of the Poor’; ‘ Sadler for ever—Erin go bragh’; ‘ Sadler and Old England for ever,’ on an Union Jack; ‘ Beeston Independent Electors’; ‘ Wortley Voters’; ‘ Sadler for ever’; ‘ Hunslet Independent Electors’; ‘ Farnley Independent Electors’; ‘ Armley Independent Electors’; ‘ Sadler the Poor Man’s Friend’ in gold letters on blue silk; ‘ Sadler’ on a splendid silk flag.”

(b) WHIG.

“ Several orange flags were displayed bearing the following inscriptions: ‘ Purity of Election—By this shall freedom triumph’; ‘ Earl Grey, Lord Brougham, and their patriotic colleagues—Reform’; on the reverse—‘ Vox populi and the patriotic 355 who supported the rights of the people on the 22d March 1832’; ‘ William IV Marshall and Macaulay’; ‘ Purity of Election’; ‘ Leeds Political Union’; ‘ Faith in his Majesty’s Ministers, Hope in the People’s Reform Bill, Charity to our Opponents’; ‘ Freedom to Trade—Success to Commerce’; ‘ Union is Strength—Britons Persevere’; ‘ The Free Electors of Holbeck’; ‘ Marshall and Macaulay the Champions of our new Bill of Rights’; ‘ Purity of Election and faithful representation—Hunslet Electors’; ‘ The Reformers of Hunslet.’”

Leeds Intelligencer, 13 December 1832.

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATE

I (*facing page 1*)

PROFESSOR ARTHUR STANLEY TURBERVILLE, 1888-1945.
Yorkshire Post photograph.

II (*facing page 16*)

Photograph of the area of the MIXED CLOTH HALL.
 In the possession of the Thoresby Society.

III (*facing page 17*)

"THE CLOTH HALL, COURT HOUSE, &c., LEEDS
 Engraved by H. Adlard from a drawing by R. D. Chantrell,
 Architect."

Published by Robinson & Hernaman, Leeds. *c.* 14" \times 10" In the
 possession of the Thoresby Society.

IV (*facing page 48*)

"JOSHUA BOWER, ESQ. RE. President of the Leeds Political
 Union. On stone by L. Haghe. I. N. Rhodes del.t. Day
 & Haghe, Lith.rs to the King, Gate St." *c.* 15" \times 19"

V (*facing page 49*)

"'WHIG LOYALTY' AND 'MORAL FORCE'!!!"

On Monday, May 14th, 1832, a Meeting was held in the Area
 of the Mixed Cloth Hall, Leeds, to "petition the House of Commons
 not to grant any further supplies, until the Reform Bill had received
 the Royal Assent." George Rawson, Esq., of Leeds, occupied the
 Chair, Edward Baines, Esq., M.P.; Edward Baines, Jun., Esq.;
 George Wailes, Esq.; Mr. John Marshall, Jun.; James Richardson,
 Esq.; John Clapham, Esq.; Mr. Joseph Lees; Mr. John Smithson, and
 many other distinguished "Leeds Liberals" took part in the proceedings.
 Amongst the Banners and Flags were the following: "A White
 Flag, with Black Border: an Iron PIKE inserted in the end of the
 Pole: Inscription 'We will have Reform.'"—"A Crimson Banner:
 Emblem; two Crowns turned upside down!; Motto: 'The Bill, or
 no Taxes!'"—"A Tri-coloured Flag, with a PIKE in the end of
 the Pole!"—"The King was represented as dressed in Petticoats, and
 the Queen in Breeches, while the Crown was falling from the King's
 head."—"One of the most conspicuous figures in the Crowd was a
 man with a piece of Crape over his face, and a large Axe in his hand,
 intended to represent an Executioner!" Edward Baines, Junr., Esq.,
 proposed that the Meeting give "THREE GROANS FOR THE
 QUEEN!" which were immediately given!!!

"It is quite true that Mr. Edward Baines was foolish enough to
 propose THREE GROANS FOR THE QUEEN!!!!"—*Leeds Mercury*,
 May, 1837.

Crude engraving, source unknown, in the possession of the Leeds
 Public Library. *c.* 9½" \times 7"

VI (*facing page 64*)

"MICHAEL THOMAS SADLER. Painted by W. Robinson.
 Engraved by T. Lupton." 11" \times 9"
 The same portrait, much reduced, forms the frontispiece to *Memoirs
 of the Life and Writings of Michael Thomas Sadler*, published
 by R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1842.

VII (*facing page 65*)

"T. B. MACAULAY, ESQ. RE M.P. Drawn by I. N. Rhodes—
 on stone by L. Haghe."

The Mediæval Age and the Present.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING,
11th APRIL, 1946

By RICHARD OFFOR, Ph.D., F.L.A.

Librarian, University of Leeds

It seems appropriate at the first annual meeting after the termination of hostilities to review the position of our Society in relation to the community at large.

In this age of destruction of historical monuments it is not untimely for us to remind ourselves how glorious is the heritage from the past we of the Thoresby Society enjoy in common with our fellowYorkshiremen. Even in this country we have avoided on the whole the disasters that befell other famous centres. London, Coventry, Exeter, Norwich, Bristol, Canterbury and Yarmouth have suffered in a heart-rending way. At York the Guildhall and St. Martin's in Coney Street have had sad blows, but, so far as my knowledge goes, they are the worst of our losses in Yorkshire: thank God, Holy Trinity, Hull, just escaped destruction. My theme is not a skeleton outline of local history, but to point out the particular responsibility we have for two periods, the mediæval age and the latest age, without for a moment belittling the importance of intermediate stages.

As to the mediæval age, when Mr. Sprittles asked for suggestions about places we might visit for our summer excursions, I found the difficulty to be in the plethora and not in the dearth of historic places of interest. The average American tourist lands at Southampton, visits Salisbury, Winchester and Oxford, thence goes to London and departs to the Continent through Canterbury and Dover, but I well remember the pleasure of a New York friend who arrived at Liverpool and whom I forthwith took to see old York. There are our castles, Richmond, Scarborough, Knaresborough, Middleham, Skipton, Conisbrough, and others, even if Wales can outshine these. One wonders whether the streams of cars and cycles would not be pouring out of Leeds southwards on holidays instead of northwards, if in that drab

colliery town of Pontefract the castle and the great church beneath it still existed in all their glory—surely a combination unrivalled in this country.

But we had in the middle ages the finest group of ecclesiastical buildings to be found in any county, perhaps in any country. Normandy, Burgundy and Tuscany escaped to a very much greater extent the ravages of the Reformation period, but no other district in Europe could rival Yorkshire in certain respects. How many visitors to York realize that, separated by a short street from the minster, was a second vast church of great size and rivalling the cathedral in beauty? Canterbury had the cathedral and St. Augustine's, but the latter had not the wealth nor the splendour of St. Mary's at York, so that York was certainly unique in this country: go to Rouen and look down on the cathedral and St. Ouen from the Mont Ste. Catherine to get an idea of what York must have looked like. Throughout the county we have still substantial and unrivalled remains of great monastic and collegiate churches. I enumerate at least fifteen churches wherein during the last hundred years any of the new dioceses would have found a true cathedral surpassing the glorified parish churches that have often had to serve as such: St. Mary's, York, Selby, Whitby, Fountains, Byland, Roche, Rievaulx, Jervaulx, Kirkstall, Meaux, Guisbrough, Easby, and Bridlington, with the collegiate churches at Beverley and Ripon, constituted a unique group. We cannot emulate the East Anglian parish churches which mark the popular religion of our greatest mediæval centre of wealth and industry, but in my colonial history lectures I have always dwelt on the fact that Yorkshire was our first English colony, really settled in the twelfth century after the devastation of the Norman Conquest by those hardworking Cistercian monks who were such successful exponents of what could be done by community farming—better with their hands than with their brains—and so a librarian looks rather ruefully for the manuscripts that came from the learning of the contemplative orders.

I take one or two examples. Sir Gilbert Scott planned to put a roof on Kirkstall Abbey and make it a cathedral for Leeds. Some think that thus it might have looked somewhat better than in its present grim appearance, which rather resembles a factory gutted by fire. Certainly its use would have more closely approximated to the reason for its erection. I have mentioned St. Mary's,

York, but I have often asked trippers to Bridlington who taste the meretricious joys of the sea-front, if they have ever realized that Bridlington in its Priory possessed a building greater in scale and magnificence than many cathedrals: visit the nave, consider its size and its beauty, and remember that choir and transepts have totally vanished. Lastly, I deplore the indifference of Leeds folk to their cathedral at Ripon. The existence of our largest mediæval church closer to Leeds than our own cathedral city has militated against Ripon receiving its due recognition. My old friend, Professor R. W. Chambers, the greatest philologist and literary critic Yorkshire has produced, used to tell me York impressed him with the worldly magnificence of the church rather than with its spirituality: since then much has been done to give the minster a more devotional atmosphere. But another antiquarian expressed his surprise that excursionists rushed from Ripon to Fountains without realizing what a jewel of mediæval architecture they were missing in not seeing the cathedral, and Ripon still has its lovely choir stalls, whilst those at York are but lifeless imitations of the ones burnt by the madman Jonathan Martin.

Whatever our political or religious views, few now look on the Reformation happenings as an unmixed blessing. The whole of this unique monastic colony, the beauty of whose dwelling-places would in these days bring sightseers from all four corners of the globe, was ruthlessly swept away, leaving in nearly every case only broken fragments of the glories that had been. Certainly no antiquary can entirely condone the deed. Whilst it is admitted that much corruption had crept in and that the vast accumulation of wealth in the hands of the spirituality needed modification, few can view without serious misgiving the rapacity which underlay this unscrupulous and reckless confiscation. The new landowners had too often none of the moral and spiritual responsibility of the former proprietors, the Christian corporation was replaced by the secular landlord, the poor and the sick were no longer cared for in the same way, and hence arose many of the social evils of subsequent generations. Yorkshire lost fifty-three houses, far more than any other county. What would we not give now if the first proposal to erect Fountains into a cathedral had materialised and its buildings had remained substantially intact? But greed supervened; the thirteen proposed new bishoprics were

reduced to five and Fountains was one of the victims. John Stow was a Protestant, but, as one reads in his *Survey of London* "monuments in this church defaced" or "fouly defaced and ruined," when those monuments were often of the fathers and grandfathers of his own generation, one can echo his bewilderment as well as his indignation.

I can but pass rapidly over the period between the Reformation and the nineteenth century, to which our Publications have devoted so many volumes in the transcripts of parish registers. For the seventeenth century, we at Leeds have three proud boasts: first the issue of the charter in 1626, renewed in 1661, so that as a corporate body we can look at such fledgelings as Manchester, Birmingham and Sheffield very much in the light of younger brothers. Secondly, there is the church of St. John, built as a chapel of ease at a time when decay and destruction were the rule, not new foundations. Lastly, in this century, Leeds gave birth to one of the greatest of English antiquaries, Ralph Thoresby.

With the end of the eighteenth century we come to the age of the so-called "Industrial Revolution." I say "so-called" because it is now clear that this "Revolution" was a much slower and more gradual process than has commonly been supposed. For various reasons, the last generation of our Thoresby Society was apt to frown upon the Industrial Revolution and all its aftermath as something irrelevant to antiquarianism and so not within the purview of the Society. Perhaps wry faces beheld the fruits of the preceding age in a blackened countryside and in congested slum-dwellings with some sense of shame, although our fathers were rather complacent about the conditions from which were derived the sources of their wealth. But the work of the late Sir John Clapham, a great economic historian who was always proud of his connection with Leeds and whose death I mourn as I compose this address—what a stalwart he was in mind and body—and of Professor Heaton and of Mr. Crump have shown the great part Leeds and district played in this age.

I wonder how many people have been in Joshua Wilson's warehouse in Wellington Street, the Bean Ing mills of Benjamin Gott. I regard it as a most striking example of Georgian architecture. I visited the place in Mr. Stanley Wilson's time when I was transcribing the documents given to the University Library

by that great friend of Leeds Mrs. Frank Gott, which Mr. Crump and I edited for this Society. It is hardly credible that we talked to an old engineer who remembered the first steam engine erected in Leeds by James Watt, now vanished. Would that the founders of our Society had known that fact and watched over the fate of such a relic! Colonel Kitson Clark took a pathetic interest in that forge near Sheffield which the Society visited under his guidance: he was quite right not to exclude such an object from our interests. Oh, for a day, my Lord Mayor, when that truncated City Museum, with its treasures, can be transferred to a building of which our city will be proud, with room enough in the surrounding area for worthy exhibits in bulk of the history of textile and other industries, or even for the re-erection of historic buildings or rooms such as at the Museum which has added so much to the attractions of York. We have been singularly backward in this country in the organization of adequate folk museums: one sometimes feels the British Museum is largely anything but British.

But we come to a later date and we still are treading solid foundations for the work of this Society. No one mourns more sadly than do I the untimely death of our late president, Professor Turberville. At the University, the special period for his students was the era of the first Reform Bill of 1832. The decade 1830-40 was one of profound importance in our political and economic progress. It witnessed the first real effort in our history at constructive reform: that is not too strong a statement. Following on the Bill came the sweeping reforms of the new Whig and middle class coalition. Slave emancipation, a radically changed poor law, above all the Municipal Corporations Act, began a complete transformation of our social structure. In Leeds there is much room for research into the new activities of the town council; health, housing, street improvements, all became for the first time prominent features of civic administration. For that reason it is instructive that our late President, who had occupied the chair of modern history in Leeds—note the significance to an antiquarian society of its president's title—was at work for us on a paper about Leeds and the Reform Bill when his death took place. The paper was by no means finished: its author was on a sick bed for a long period during its composition and Mr. Beckwith is engaged in the task of revision and completion.

And still we need not put a final date after which we can glibly say we have emerged from the historical field. The nineteenth century saw this country at the height of its position as a world power, politically, economically, and industrially. In this process Leeds played its due part. We may be dubious about the real strength of much of the structure: we know now that it was not to last—possibly it could not last. There is much we regret, much we recall with gratitude. As for the former, we in Leeds as elsewhere sorrow over the haphazard growth of our town. Before 1830, in that much maligned period of Tory supremacy when Jane Austen's characters were in full control, there was at least some planning by autocratic landowners. In Leeds, Park Square and other places show a desire for a dignified lay-out. In London we have the splendid series of squares in what were ironically dubbed the Dukeries. Edinburgh has the stately New Town, whilst Brighton and Scarborough built sea fronts which the next generation wholly failed to continue. The era of commercial triumph was accompanied by a catastrophic decline in town planning. You have only to compare the inner and outer suburbs of our cities—Edinburgh is an instructive example—to see this. After the great exhibition of 1851 when we were at our economic zenith, everything in the plan of our towns seemed to go to pieces: each man did as he liked with his own, with the result that we have inherited a dreary, featureless mass of portentous ugliness, although earlier there were redeeming features such as Blenheim Terrace and Headingley Hill. One may hope we may find those who will investigate all this, much as our founders investigated the planning of Yorkshire abbeys.

But there will also be the bright side of the picture. This same age of individualism witnessed the extension of Leeds enterprise to all parts of the world. The records of achievement and of the vigorous men and women who made it possible, their political, social, and religious views, surely all provide a rich field for the research worker. Already Victorian buildings are becoming historical monuments. Perhaps we speak too disparagingly of the “Gothic revival”; for we do not always appreciate the fact that in the striking forward movement inaugurated by Dr. Hook, who so fittingly has a statue in our City Square, Leeds became possessed of as fine a series of suburban parish churches as any provincial city in the country, with the possible exception of Brighton. We

should not, also, forget that we have perhaps the most striking of Victorian town halls. As for industry and invention, we shall all agree that Mr. Place's paper recently read to the Society on the great pioneer of the cinematograph, Augustin le Prince, and the work he did at Leeds in the memory of some still living, was a revelation of how fascinating an appeal can be made to our historical sentiment by events that occurred in the life-time of many of us.

And now we have come to a period when the wheel has swung round full circle. Labour as a political force is in control; no longer can our interest be confined to churches, parish registers, and great houses: alas, that so many of the latter are decaying in these days. Are we not to regard this political emergence of Labour as a fruitful field of enquiry in our local history?

One well-liked member and honoured Vice-President of our Society, the late Alf Mattison, had this very much at heart. For some obscure reason, too little attention has been paid to the work he most loved, the building up of a collection of books, newspapers and manuscript material on the history of the Labour movement, especially of its early activity in Yorkshire. Edward Carpenter was a central figure to Mr. Mattison: it is not usually known that the bulk of his library is now in the Brotherton Collection. The advent of Professor Chapman to the University and to our Society brings hope that our friend's life-long interest will be put to good use. Who shall say that the time will not come when it will be found well worth while for one of our members to publish scholarly papers on this very recent but very important side of our local life? It is all rapidly passing out of the realm of controversy. For myself, I look back wistfully on many great things we appear to be in danger of losing: brought up in an intensely Liberal atmosphere, I have developed, like so many others, sadly conservative tendencies in my declining years. But let us take heart and have faith that the devastation of the first half of this century is but a penance heralding a brave new world. May it not be, my Lord Mayor, that by the time our Society has celebrated its centenary, one of our number will have indulged in enquiries into the biographies of early Labour leaders and Lord Mayors of Leeds?

I have given a very rapid chronological survey of the field of interest open to our Society; this is what a history man should

do. Two extremes meet. The richness of our mediæval heritage lies at one end, but at the other end I have endeavoured to show that there is no last date at which we need terminate our vista. There is an urgent need for us to analyse our contemporary problems in the light that historical development can throw upon them. A slur is sometimes cast upon us in the phrase "merely antiquarian." We are rightly proud of this word "antiquarian," which denominates some of the finest scholarship the world has known; but we shall always escape the scoffer if we can show that our researches have real relevance to the issues of our own time. If so, the sneers of the Ingoldsby Legends will be baseless.

"Did you ever see an old abbey before, Mr. Peters?" "Yes, miss"—this was the time of clerical refugees from France—"Yes, miss, a French one: . . . he teaches the Miss Joneses to parley-voo, and is turned of sixty." Miss Simpkinson closed her album with an air of ineffable disdain: "Mr. Simpkinson from Bath was a professed antiquary of the first water; he was a master of Gwillim's Heraldry and Mills's History of the Crusades . . . An influential member of the Antiquarian Society, to whose *Beauties of Bagnigge Wells* he had been a liberal subscriber, procured him a seat at the board of that learned body . . . His inaugural essay on the President's cocked hat was considered a miracle of erudition; and his account of the earliest application of gilding to gingerbread a masterpiece of antiquarian research." At the end of the party's visit to the ruins—"founded," said Mr. Simpkinson, "in the reign of Henry the Sixth, about the beginning of the eleventh century"—the last line of Miss Simpkinson's poetical effusion, "sadly mute and uncomplaining," was never heard because "Tom Ingoldsby, in the enthusiasm of the moment, unwarily laid his hand on the cock of the urn, and . . . the full stream of its scalding contents descended on the gingerbread hide of the unlucky Cupid," the dog lying beneath it. "Vulgar minds will never know anything more of Miss Simpkinson's ode till they peruse it in some forthcoming annual."

We have in fact long passed from the somewhat sickly mediæval sentiment of the Sir Walter Scott era that was so mercilessly caricatured by Barham. In this year of grace, 1946, we most boldly assert our claims to recognition. Many of us feel that the atomic bomb has done more than shatter our dreams of future tranquillity: it has also sadly altered the relative emphasis we are placing on the things that really matter. The universities seem now solely to be appealing to the nation and the public

because of what they can do in applied science. Statements in the press, spokesmen of the universities themselves, grants of public money, all echo the materialistic pressure that is hedging us in. We in Leeds are naturally not behindhand in making extensive additions to our technology departments, but we still await news of an appointment to the lectureship in archæology which has been vacant for a long series of years. Relief from fear of the enemy, security of markets and of employment, the elimination of disease, must bulk very large in our outlook, but surely they are not all; they are not the chief things we live for. In an age of bread and butter politics—how can we escape that just now?—we must stand firmly for values humanistic—spiritual if you like. Is the Faculty of Arts in our universities to keep its pride of place? Is Temple Newsam really to mean something more than a holiday resort in which to spend an idle hour? Is not the study of history and religion, philosophy and modern languages needed to give us a kindly and far reaching view of the world around us? There is the justification for regarding such institutions as the Thoresby Society not as a luxury but as a necessity if we are to lead a sane, sweet and balanced life. At any rate the growth in our numbers and the interest in our meetings are healthy signs.

I express my deep gratitude for the honour you have done me, ladies and gentlemen, in electing me your President. I regret that I have done less for the Society than I could have wished, but few can be aware of the insistent claim on the whole of one's time and energy made by the organization of a large library. With all modesty, for it is little credit I can claim, it can be said that public and private support have led to the transformation of what was a somewhat mean and colourless affair in 1919 into a Brotherton Library that has by 1946 attained international fame. Only because I am its librarian and have had some historical training can I in any way lay claim to the honour you have given me, although since I came to Leeds in 1919 I have had the welfare of the Thoresby Society very much at heart. In such time and with such strength as remain to me, I shall be entirely at its service.

Thoresby's Diary and Correspondence:

A SUGGESTION.

By WILLIAM HEBDITCH, B.A.

William Hebditch, born at Loftus, N.R., came to Leeds in 1938 as Librarian to The Yorkshire Archaeological Society. I did not meet him till the next year when I invited him to join the Thoresby Society and to give a lecture in the next session. The subject he chose was 'Yorkshire Topographers.' He was already familiar with some of them and had their works in his Library before he came to Leeds. So naturally he was delighted to find at Park Place the original manuscripts of Thoresby's Diary and the Letters received by him. Much of this material had been edited by Joseph Hunter and published in 1830 and 1832. The Thoresby Society also had printed a small selection of additional letters and some fresh fragments of the Journal. But Hebditch thought this was not enough; the Society could and should gradually produce a definitive edition of both the Diary and the Correspondence in its Publications. That is the theme of his letter printed below.

What was the occasion of the letter I am not sure. We were seeing each other frequently as he was helping me with the production of *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets*, and we discussed the Thoresby MSS. from the time he showed me a beautifully bound copy of Hunter's four volumes just bought for his own Library. Probably I asked him in the end to put his views on paper with a list of the MSS. In October he joined the Royal Air Force and in little more than a year he was killed in an air crash. So his noble conception must await the advent of some scholar of like attainments and enthusiasm.

Thinking that he would enjoy reading Hebditch's letter I sent it to Professor Turberville during his illness and his reply confirms my own estimate of Hebditch's suggestion and the difficulty of realising it at present.

Meanwhile I suggest that Thoresby's *Topography of Leeds*, shorn of its out-of-date pedigrees and imaginary derivations, with illustrations and an abundance of footnotes, would make a handy and valuable octavo out of a clumsy folio which includes many other matters.

W.B.C.

23. 7. 40.

The Terrace, Boston Spa.

Dear Mr. Crump,

After our conversation in the Library the other day I looked into the question of what Thoresby correspondence, etc., had, or had not, been printed, and I herewith send you the results of my investigations. I think you will agree with me that though in the past there have been inroads made, the

seam is still capable of yielding quite valuable ore. In a way it is a pity Lancaster made his selections from so large a number of vols. instead of printing one MS. vol. *in toto* and leaving the rest for someone else to work through systematically. But his annotations would doubtless be helpful to any editor who subsequently tackles the rest of the material.

As you know, I should like to see a full, complete, authoritative edition of the Diary, Correspondence, and other miscellaneous papers of Ralph Thoresby much more than innumerable parish registers and other similar stuff, which no-one ever reads or is expected to read, and only the most dreary genealogists and record-searchers ever consult. There is a good model for such an edition in Hearne's *Collections* published over a very long period of time, and by various editors, by the Oxford Historical Society. For such an edition two things are absolutely essential—the money to pay for publication, and someone with enough application and enthusiasm to transcribe all the material still in MS. and then to edit and annotate the whole, including what Hunter and Lancaster did, in such a way that Leeds and the people with whom Thoresby came into contact really do live again. I think it could be done, and if my future seemed a little more secure I would, in all due humility, like to tackle the task. Being in Leeds but not of Leeds, and having by profession as well as inclination a certain aptitude in these matters, I feel I might be able to do justice to Thoresby not merely as the historian of Leeds but as one of that great fraternity of historians and antiquaries which included Hearne, Gale, Gibson and Nicholson to mention only a few of the more outstanding. Whoever tackles the job either in part or whole ought I think to bring out this side very strongly.

Yours very sincerely, WILLIAM HEBDITCH

A. Correspondence, Etc.

1. In 1832 the Rev. Joseph Hunter printed two vols. of *Letters of Eminent Men addressed to Ralph Thoresby*. The originals of these are contained in MSS. 11-13 and cover the years 1689-1723.

In his introduction to *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, vol. 1, pp. xi-xii, Hunter writes "Thoresby's Collections of Letters from Celebrated Persons found its way to its proper depository, the British Museum, where are also some of his Biographical Collections." This seems incorrect in view of the fact that in 1908 Sir Thomas Brooke bequeathed to the Yorkshire Archaeological Society the original volumes of correspondence which Hunter used for his edition.

Hunter seems to have printed all the letters in these three MS. vols., and probably added other odd letters from other volumes—Mr. W. T. Lancaster wrote "I have repeatedly met with letters printed by him bound up in other volumes."

2. In 1912 W. T. Lancaster edited for the Thoresby Society [vol. xxi] *a selection* from eight volumes of Letters to Ralph Thoresby contained in Y.A.S. MSS. 6-10 and MSS. 14-16. He also printed copies from MS. 2 and MS. 20.

It is quite clear that Lancaster only made a selection and in these eight MS. vols. there are obviously many letters not yet in print. These may not refer to such eminent men or such important affairs as those selected by Mr. Lancaster; but if these were printed we should probably get a much fuller, rounder picture of the man and his times.

N.B.—As an indication of the degree to which Mr. Lancaster has selected it is worth noting that out of three volumes of MS. Hunter produced two volumes of print; out of eight volumes of MS. Lancaster produced one volume.

3. In addition to these volumes from which selections have been made there are the following MSS. of which I cannot be certain that none have been printed as there may be odd letters in the Thoresby *Miscellanea* and in

Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries, ed. Sir H. Ellis, 1843 (Camden Society), or even in such works as Hearne's *Collections* [all of which ought to be consulted if any further correspondence of Thoresby is edited]:

- MS. 1. A Volume of Copies of Letters from Ralph Thoresby to various correspondents.
- MSS. 3-4. Two volumes of original letters, papers, etc., collected by Thoresby [some are from, to, or relate to Leeds persons].
- MS. 5. Seven original letters from E. Barlow Roger Gale, Dr. Gibson and others to Thoresby.
- MS. 17. A volume of Miscellanea in Thoresby's writing—various interesting items on Yorkshire Topography.
- MS. 18. An Index of letters received by Thoresby.
- MS. 27. Contains Thoresby's volume of Autographs often alluded to by him as "The Album," and list of donors to his museum.
- MS. 32. Volume containing letters to Thoresby from Matthew Henry, Richard Stretton, Charles Townley, Philip, Lord Wharton, and others.
- MS. 36. Includes *inter alia* a letter from Rev. John Strype to Thoresby.

B. The Diaries.

In 1830 Joseph Hunter published two volumes of Thoresby's *Diary*. The MSS. from which Hunter prepared his edition were apparently discovered by William Upcott, Esq. As Hunter has pointed out, the series of the *Diary* is broken. It seems clear that he used for this edition the MSS., in the possession of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society since 1908, numbered MSS. 21-25. These cover the period 1677-1724.

"The Review," Thoresby's autobiography to the year 1714, was used by Hunter to fill in the gaps where the *Diary* was defective. Hunter at one time contemplated publishing whole of *Review*. This MS. 26 now in possession of Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

For any further details see Y.A.S. *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Deeds*, pp. 1-3.

WILLIAM HEBDITCH,
July 22, 1940.

The University,
Leeds, 2.
March 11, 1945.

Dear Mr. Crump:

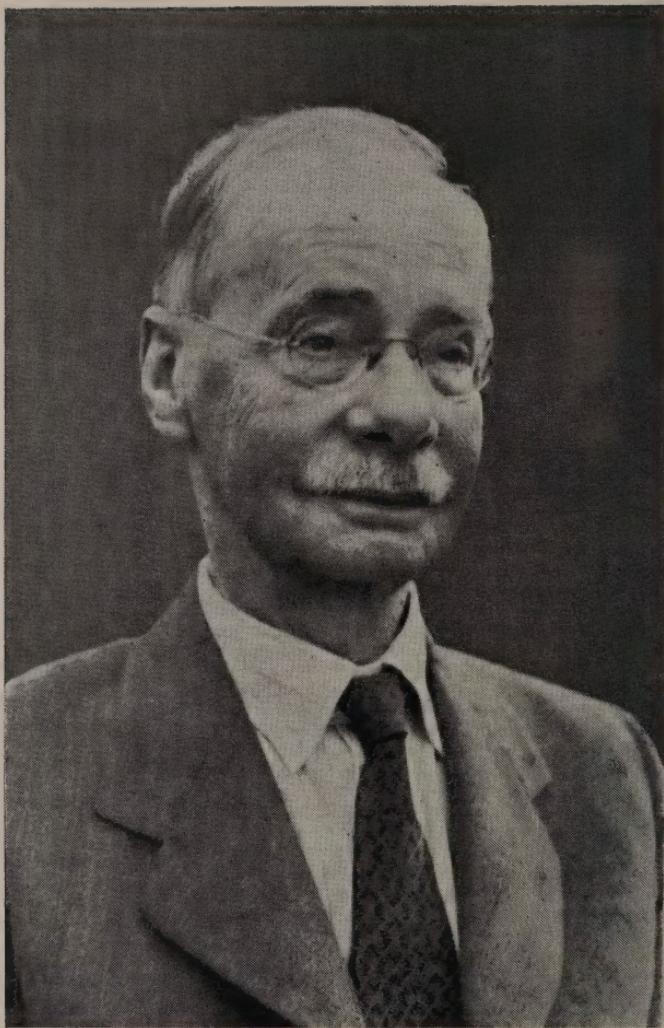
I have read Hebditch's letter with very great interest. A complete and definitive edition of all the writings and correspondence of Ralph Thoresby—it's an inspiring conception! And it would be a fine thing for the Thoresby Society to undertake, though it would mean the expenditure of much time and money. The chief desideratum, however, is another William Hebditch. In the absence of such an one it is possible that something might be done by co-operative effort under a single direction. I suppose you had in mind the possibility that the Thoresby Society might some day be so ambitious as to embark upon this undertaking, and that your talks with Hebditch were the result of your having had this design in your own mind.

I append a list of persons taking a more or less prominent part in party politics in Leeds in or before 1832, of whom I should be glad to know rather more than I do at present—so that any particulars about them that you can furnish would be welcome to me.

Yours sincerely,

A. S. TURBERVILLE.

*Published by The Thoresby Society, Leeds
and
Printed by Chronicle Printers, Doncaster*



W. B. CRUMP, M.A.
Plate VIII. *Photograph by H. Grainger, F.R.P.S.*

W. B. Crump, M.A.

It is with regret that the Society records the resignation of Mr. Crump from the editorship of its publications; it is with pleasure that it wishes him long years of happy retirement; it is with gratitude that it looks back upon his record of work on its behalf. The Society owes him a debt which is not easy to calculate: he took office at a difficult time, and, after clearing away a legacy of doubtful masterpieces, set to work to give a settled plan to the Society's activities. This he achieved not merely by writing papers himself and holding himself ready at all times to give lectures, but by seeking to encourage new, and especially younger, members to undertake research. He did more: nothing that the Society undertook was without deep interest for him, and the score of his attendances at Council and Committee meetings and on excursions must be almost one hundred per cent. He has always claimed that he is an economic historian, and so he is: yet he is much more. By early training and interests he is a naturalist of the first rank, and those who know him are aware that nothing antiquarian is alien to his interest.

His standards have always been exacting, and if some of us have seemed to fail him, the fault is not his: no-one has lavished such careful advice, encouragement and patience upon those who were beginners, and those who were practised hands, at writing papers. His care, too, for the printed page was infinite in its exactitude: style, arrangement, references, type, all were scrutinised with incredible patience, and he laid a special anathema upon the multiplicity of "stops" so beloved by many compositors. He has been a great cleanser of title-pages.

It is the fate of editors, not exactly to waste their powers upon the work of others, but to do much work for which they receive a credit, (if they do receive any credit at all), which is soon forgotten and which certainly must remain anonymous. In the list of papers which follows, therefore, the work of Mr. Crump for this

Society, at any rate, is far from adequately represented: many a phrase, many a whole paragraph, perhaps whole pages, that go under the name of some other contributor are really his, but only he could now disentangle them. Such as it is, and well knowing that the final item on the list will not be his last contribution, it is offered by his many friends with gratitude and good wishes.

LIST OF PAPERS BY W. B. CRUMP, M.A.

The flora of the parish of Halifax, by W. B. Crump and Charles Crossland (*Halifax Naturalist* . . . vols. 1-8, 1896-1904).

Clifton and its common fields: a survey in 1788. (*Papers, reports, etc.*, *Halifax Antiquarian Society*, 1924).

Ancient highways of the parish of Halifax. (*ibid.*, 1924-5)

The genesis of Warburton's 'Map of Yorkshire,' 1720. (*Publications of the Thoresby Society*, vol. 28, 1928).

Dialect on the map: some Calder Valley place names. (*Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, 1931).

The Leeds woollen industry, 1780-1820, edited by W. B. Crump. (*Publications of the Thoresby Society*, vol. 32, 1931).

The yeoman-clothier of the seventeenth century: his home and his loom-shop. (*Bradford Antiquary*, N.S., 5, 1933).

History of the Huddersfield woollen industry, by W. B. Crump and Gertrude Ghorbal. (Tolson Memorial Museum, handbook 9). Huddersfield, 1935.

The wool-textile industry of the Pennines in its physical setting. (*Journal of the Textile Institute: Proceedings*, vol. 26, 1935).

Halifax visitors' book. (*Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, 1937-9).

The little hill farm: Calder Valley. (*ibid.*, 1938).

Saltways from the Cheshire wiches. (*Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. 54, 1940).

The 'Warburton' sketch book (Lansdowne ms. 914, British Museum). (*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 35, 1940).

Sorocold's waterworks at Leeds, 1694, by F. Williamson and W. B. Crump. (*Publications of the Thoresby Society*, vol. 37, 1941).

George Denison Lumb, F.S.A. (*ibid.*, vol. 37, 1941).

Samuel King and his botanical tours in Yorkshire. (*North Western Naturalist*, 1943).

Methley Hall and its builders. (*Publications of the Thoresby Society*, vol. 37, 1945).

Alfred Mattison. (*ibid.*, vol. 37, 1945).

The Thoresby Society Jubilee, 1939. (A review 1889-1939) 8 pages, 1 plate.

Leeds Church Patronage in the Eighteenth Century¹

By CANON R. J. WOOD, M.A.

The advowson of the Parish Church of S. Peter in Leeds in pre-Reformation days was in the hands of the Priory of Holy Trinity, York, to whom it had been given in 1089 by Ralph Paganell. On the dissolution of the monasteries in 1538 it was given to one Thomas Culpepper. During the following half-century the advowson was disposed of several times to other private patrons, until, shortly before the death of Vicar Alexander Faucett, (he died in February, 1589-90) the parishioners took the important step of purchasing it for themselves for the sum of £130, and placing it in the hands of a body of unofficial trustees. In 1614-15, when the living became vacant by the death of Robert Cooke, the surviving trustees, choosing to regard the advowson as their own personal property, proposed to sell it. But their action was resented and resisted by a strong body of parishioners, and in the following November twenty-two of them lodged a Bill of Complaint in the Court of Chancery. In June, 1617, Lord Bacon, the Lord Keeper, gave judgment and decreed that the twenty-two complainants with three others should form a board of Trustees, and made provision for filling up the number of Trustees, as occasion arose. This body has held the right of presentation to the Vicarage of Leeds from that time to the present day.

Only once in these years has any public difficulty arisen. When Joseph Cookson died in 1746, after a vicariate of thirty years, there were only twenty-four Trustees, by reason of the recent death of Sir William Milner. Seven days after the Vicar's death, they met to elect a successor. There were two candidates for the post, Samuel Kirshaw, the Rector of Coningsby in Lincolnshire, and James Scott, the Incumbent of Holy Trinity, Leeds. Each of them received twelve votes. The matter was held over for some time, and meanwhile one of the Trustees, a supporter of Kirshaw, died. On August 5th, five months after the former Vicar's death, the supporters of Scott called a meeting at which he was unanimously elected. But the election was

disputed, and following the opinion of the Attorney-General that after four months the right of nomination fell to the parishioners, a poll was held and Kirshaw was elected. His opponents then appealed to the Court of Chancery, which finally decided against each of the elections and ordered the completion of the body of Trustees and a new election. This resulted in Kirshaw's definite appointment, and he was instituted in March, 1751.

In the meantime the living was sequestrated, and in 1747 the Archbishop licensed "Mr. Fawcett, the Curate" to serve the cure during the vacancy, allowing him £100 a year, upon the nomination of the sequestrators. Mr. Fawcett proved a vigorous and effective supporter of Kirshaw's claims; and a pamphlet on the dispute written by him is extant. The story of his reward is a very interesting one, and reference will be made to it later.

The question of patronage, which had made the beginning of Kirshaw's vicariate so tumultuous, continued to vex his soul for at least 13 years. The parish of Leeds at this time included eight Chapelries, in addition to the churches of S. John and Holy Trinity, and almost every vacancy that occurred during this period became the occasion of a struggle which anticipated in what may seem a rather surprising way what is generally thought to be the modern demand for popular patronage, the inhabitants of the Chapelries asserting with varying degrees of vehemence their right of making their own nominations.

The immediate causes of the struggle were doubtless several in number. There had been a popular election at the Parish Church, and although the Lord Chancellor had set it aside the man so elected had obtained the post. Moreover a public struggle of five years' standing does not subside in a moment, and it is very probable that some of the disgruntled supporters of the defeated candidate may have been vigorously hostile to Dr. Kirshaw and have done their best to rouse local feeling against him in the Chapelries.

But there was also a more serious complication in the background. The Chapel at Hunslet had been built in 1636 and Armley Chapel in 1653², though the latter had not been consecrated until 1674. In the case of Armley the deed of consecration definitely awarded the right of patronage to the inhabitants, who had actually exercised it on four occasions. In the case of Hunslet a joint right of nomination was recognised.

An indenture had been made on October 11th, 1637, between certain landowners of Hunslet on the one side and Vicar Henry Robinson and others on the other in order to make provision for the maintenance of a clergyman to minister in the chapel where the said landowners were pew-owners.³ The Vicar, John Wilson of Leeds, Chapman, William Sykes of the same, Chapman, Christopher Brooke and Thomas Colbeck, of Hunslet, Clothiers, were made Trustees of certain rent-charges made by these owners, undertaking that when any two of the Trustees should die the remaining three should elect two other disinterested persons as trustees, the Vicar of Leeds always to be one.

"And moreover it is the true intent and meaning of all the parties to these presents that when and as often as the place of the Minister at the said Chappell shall bee void that the viccar of the parish Church of Leeds for the time being (if the said viccaradge be then full off an Incumbent) and in the viccacy thereof the Church-warden of the said Towne off Hunslett together with the then present Grantees and trustees of the said Rents or any two of them to chuse and nominate one able and fitt Clerke Lawfully ordained in holy orders of priesthood and a Lycensed preacher to the place and office of Minister of the said Chappell who being accordingly chosen and duly admitted thereunto shall for and during so long time as he shall well behave himself in the said functions and shall have no other Cure or Charge to serve elsewhere Be Minister of the said Chappell and have all the said rents and sumes of money and profitts for his sustentation and maintenance as aforesaid and ffor no longer."⁴

During the period of sequestration several of the Chapelries fell vacant, and the sequestrators made appointments to Beeston (Christopher Topham on September 30th, 1748), to Hunslet (Henry Crooke on May 24th, 1749), and to Headingley (John Moor on July 7th, 1749). At Headingley a caveat was issued on March 16th, 1750-1 on behalf of William Wade, but it was withdrawn on June 14th, 1751. Immediately upon his institution Kirshaw proceeded to renominate these men and fresh licences were issued to them at York. A licence was also given to John Belcher as curate of Farnley, but this was a new appointment. It was a non-residential curacy, and there is no record of any protest by the Farnley people against Dr. Kirshaw's nomination.

Holbeck appears to have been the next of the Chapelries to

fall vacant after the new Vicar's institution. On Tuesday, August 6th, 1754, was buried William Carr, who had been curate there since 1728 and for 20 years had combined with his Holbeck work the rectory of the Other Mediety of Burnsall. On the very same day the *Leeds Intelligencer* announces that "the Rev. Mr. Fawcett, M.A. is licensed to the Curacy of Holbeck, vacated by the death of Mr. Carr, upon the nomination of the Rev. the Vicar of Leeds." It is quite clear that many of the Holbeck people had been clamouring for the right of making their own nomination, and that some of the most reputable of them shared indeed the popular idea that Kirshaw had promised to allow them to do so. This was probably an honest misunderstanding, but Kirshaw's precipitate action, avowedly intended to present the people with a *fait accompli*, roused them to fury. It was probably on August 18th that Fawcett made his first attempt to take a service in his new cure, but the people would not have him near the Chapel. The events of the next few weeks are recorded in happy detail in the pages of the recently founded *Leeds Intelligencer*. The issue of August 27th, contains this paragraph: "On Sunday last the Rev. Mr. Fawcett, attended with near 1,000 people from LEEDES, and all the Constables of the Borough, 18 in number, made a second *Attempt* to perform Divine Service at the *Chapel* of HOLBECK, to which he was deservedly nominated by the VICAR OF LEEDES, the legal Patron, and *duly* licenc'd by the Archbishop of York; but immediately upon his approaching the *Chapel*, he was opposed by a *furious, frantic, lawless Rabble* of HOLBECKERS, who assaulted him with *Dirt, Stones, and Brickbats*, and whatever Instrument of Violence their *Fury* cou'd furnish. Being treated in this *insolent, unheard of audacious Manner*, and finding that no Access cou'd be gained to the *Chapel*, but by his Attendants exerting Violence and repelling *Force* by *Force*, he thought proper (consistent with his truly Christian Disposition) to retire under the Conduct of those, who went there voluntarily to protect his Person. When a *spotless, innocent CHARACTER, ABILITIES* equal to the *ablest* of his *Brethren*, and a *FUNCTION* that shou'd be held sacred, can claim *no Respect*; nay more cannot *protect* from *personal Injuries* amidst a Set of People who *call themselves Christians*; what may not be apprehended! Whose *Property* is *secure*? or whose *Life* is not in *Danger*?

The story is continued in the next issue of the paper.

“On Sunday last (Sept. 1st) a third Attempt was made to perform Divine Service in the Chapel of HOLBECK, but the *insolent Rabble* were *indispos'd* to *Religious Duties*, rightly concluding themselves *unfit to offer up their Devotions* without *cleaner Hands* and *purer Hearts*. The *Mouths* that are *pregnant* with *Curses*, cannot contain a *Blessing* either for themselves or others. To that excess of *Licentiousness* are they arriv'd, that not content with *ransacking Hell* for *Curses* to blast the Character of their Minister, they even threaten his Life—*will tear him Limb from Limb, and imbrue their hands in his Blood*. These Expressions some have the *front* to utter even in the public Streets of this Town, when they are expostulated with. All mild Methods have been us'd to bring them to *sober Reason*, but without Effect. On Saturday Evening the Magistrates dispatch'd an Officer of this Burrough to acquaint the People of HOLBECK, that if they did not receive with *Peace and Decency* the Minister that came there to officiate for Mr. Fawcett, the Day following, they might expect to have a Party of Soldiers quartered upon them. After this friendly Caution, their *repeated Insolence* and *Obstinacy* put the Magistrates under an absolute Necessity of having Recourse to the *Military Power*, and Yesterday accordingly they sent Orders to the Constable of HOLBECK, to provide Quarters for fifty Dragoons, and this Day, at Ten o'Clock, they are to March for their *New Quarters*. When an *utter Contempt* is had to all *Law*, whether *Ecclesiastical* or *Civil*, the *Military Power* is the *dernier Resort* left to restore *Peace* and re-establish the Laws with their *full Efficacy*.”

It was on Wednesday the 11th that Fawcett first succeeded in getting an entrance into the Church, being escorted to and from the Chapel by a party of Dragoons, who kept guard at the doors during the Service, but were unable to prevent some “evil-disposed People from breaking the windows of the Church and throwing a brickbat at Mr. Fawcett while he was in the reading-Desk.”

On the following Friday he went through the Service unmolested, and was attended to the Chapel by two or three of the Heads of the Chapelry instead of the Military, and on Sunday the 15th he preached upon “The Behaviour of the Apostles Paul and Barnabas, together with that of some riotous opposers of their Ministry” (Acts xiii, 46). According to the reporter, the “crowded Audience behaved with great Decency, and were

deeply affected with the Subject," so that few in the Church " were found so obdurate as not to express their Concern with Tears. The ill Treatment he has had and the Calmness and Fortitude with which he receiv'd it being *pathetically, affectionately* and with great Modesty represented under the Conduct and Sufferings of *Paul* and *Barnabas* had such an effect on the Hearers that after Service an unusual *Serenity* was observ'd to prevail in those *Countenances* that before had been *distorted* with *Rancour* and *Malice*."

But the calm was unhappily deceptive or the effect of the preacher's eloquence evanescent, for " the same Night some *profane, Sacrilegious Villains* broke into the Chapel, cut the Common Prayer Book in Pieces, and besmear'd the Seats with *human Excrements*. By whatever Religion these Wretches please to distinguish themselves," comments the *Intelligencer* " let them not assume the name of CHRISTIAN, for such *bestial* and *profane* *Acts* wou'd ill become a *Pagan* or *Mahometan*, much less a *Protestant*!"

Nor were all his Leeds supporters content with his yielding to the rule of the mob, and some spoke slightly of his courage. Therefore in the following year he published his sermon, together with a preface, long and explanatory, which combines happily a submissive turning of the other cheek with a distinctly provocative putting out of the tongue. The title-page bears the pointed and appropriate inscription, "He which is filthy let him be filthy still."

In the preface he reminds his readers that he carried on the work for nearly three months in order to prepare the way for his successor, so that it cannot be fair to ascribe his resignation to cowardice. But " if any will yet impute his Conduct to his *Fears*, he confesses that he was *very much afraid*, and that he cou'd not upon any Consideration surmount his *Fear*, to take upon him the *Charge* of a set of People who by *their Determined Opposition to his Endeavours* were likely to give such an *irresistible Force* to their inherent Propensity to that which is *Evil*." He speaks of " the incendiaries," so that it would appear that the Holbeckers attempted to burn his house. And he concludes with a vindication of Kirshaw. Even if it were in the abstract a good thing to allow the inhabitants, when cool and dispassionate, a right of making suggestions and advising the patron, in the present case not only were they riotous in anticipation of his nomination, but by

claiming for themselves the patronage they had precluded him from consulting them lest he should seem to countenance their claim. The hasty appointment was forced upon him by their turbulence, and he had hoped that the people would submit to what they saw could not legally be reversed. "In this indeed he was greatly mistaken, and judged much too favourably of the People's temper; and if this be an injury, it is such a one as a very moderate share of Candour may be prevailed upon to overlook; and what they may for this once at least safely venture to forgive; after they have taken *such effectual care*, that *no one* shall make the *like Mistake again*. He concludes that "if *with all these powerful influences on his Side* he cou'd not gain a peacable *Admission* into the Chapelry; he cou'd have no Prospect There but of a most uncomfortable Being, when left to himself; and that therefore he has *good Reason* to be *truly thankful* for his *Deliverance.*"

His resignation seems pretty well to have calmed the tumult. The Church windows were broken again in October, for which at the Quarter Sessions at the end of November one John Robinson receives the stiff sentence of a whipping and a £5 fine. The *Intelligencer* becomes alternately "yellow" and facetious in its comments upon the morality of Holbeckers, but there do not seem to have been any further "incidents."

Fawcett returned to the Parish Church, where three years later he was made Lecturer. He became Minister of S. John's in 1768, and died in 1783. His son Richard was subsequently Vicar of Leeds. The father's resignation of Holbeck was formally accepted by the Archbishop on June 3rd, 1755, who, on the following day licenced the Rev. Joseph Hague, LL.B., of Trinity College, Cambridge, to succeed him.

It would be interesting to know whom the Holbeck people would have appointed had they been given the opportunity. That they had some one in mind is indicated by this paragraph, which appeared on September 24th: "On Sunday last the Rev. Mr. Fawcett was receiv'd and behav'd to by his Congregation with great Decency. This perhaps may be look'd upon as a promising Token of Peace, but it is indeed uncertain, whether this Change of Behaviour be owing to a *real Change of Affections* in the *Populace* or only to a Kind of *pious Fraud* put upon them by one of Mr. Fawcett's *well-meaning Brethren*, who out of his *singular*

Benevolence invited or *admitted their favourite Preacher* to his Pulpit in this Town. By this Artifice the *tumultuous* part of the People were mostly drawn away from Holbeck, and the Curate left at Liberty to perform his Duty amongst the peaceable and well-disposed Inhabitants of the Chapelry."

Joseph Thomas, curate of Bramley, died in 1758, and was succeeded by Thomas Faber.

The following letter⁵ from Mr. Mackley, a Deputy-Registrar of the Archbishop's Court at York, to a Mr. J. Banks, presumably of Bramley, bears on this appointment, and shews that the Vicar's right of presentation was contested:—

"Sir,

I was favoured with your letter and as the nominations of Curates to all Chaplerys are deemed in law to belong to the incumbent of the mother church unless some written evidence by the original consecration deed or by long usage to the contrary can be produced or proved, I have taken no small pains to satisfye myself and you as fully as possible what can be made to appear in this case. I find I have in my office the consecration deeds of Armley and Hunslet in which the right of nomination is fully settled, but I have no extracts of y^t of Bramley, or other matters relating to it. On searching for y^e Curates of Bramley I find y^t

In 1632 Joshua Hill was Curate but had no Licence,

In 1667 Francis Bovill was Curate.

29 Jan. 1673, Rob Hartley was Licensed Curate.

In 1682 and 1684 James Metcalf was Curate.

1694 Thomas Clapham was admitted Curate.

Oct. 1713, Saml. Exley was Licensed Curate.

July 1730, Joseph Thomas was Licensed Curate.

I have been over at Bishopthorpe to get my Ld. Archbishop Secretary to search for the severall nominations given to those gentlemen but He was then to much engaged to have y^e leisure but I have left the list wth him and He has promised to search the first opportunity and let me know the result thereof which I shall take care to communicate to you and in the mean time thought it right to advise you what I have done least you sho'd think me delatory.

Mr. Faber has been over wth the Vicars nomination to apply for a licence but was stopt by the caveat.

I am, S^r y^r most humble Servant,
RICHd MACKLEY.

The letter is dated from York, 16th August, 1758.

It was in 1758, too, that Henry Crooke, curate of Hunslet, was presented to Kippax, which he decided to hold in plurality with Hunslet. This caused some heart-searching in Hunslet, where there is still preserved a dilapidated MS containing questions put to and the answers supplied by some legal person.⁶ The first question is whether Crooke could appoint a successor: to which it is replied that he could not, but that if, as appeared probable, the plurality was legal, he could appoint at his own charges an assistant to act in his behalf in Hunslet. The second question, asked in anticipation of a vacancy which actually did not occur, concerned the rights of the Trustees in the patronage. The reply to this is fragmentary and almost illegible, but it suggests that while the original right of nomination rested with the Vicar of Leeds, the agreement of the former Vicar of Leeds to the Deed of Settlement already quoted and existing custom would allow to the Trustees equal rights of nominating a curate with the Vicar of Leeds.

The next Chapelry to fall vacant was Armley, where Thomas Strother had been incumbent from 1727 to 1761, and the appointment of his successor was the occasion of another battle royal between the Vicar of Leeds and the local inhabitants.⁷ If at Holbeck there had been a hint or an expectation that the Vicar might waive his right of presentation, the situation was very different at Armley. As has been stated above, the consecration deed of Armley had specifically awarded the patronage to the inhabitants, who had apparently exercised it four times. In the York registers of 1727 it is definitely stated that Thomas Strother was licensed *nominatus per inhabitantes*, and a long incumbency had not induced the inhabitants to forget their rights. He died on April 24th, 1761, and on May 4th the inhabitants met and selected a Mr. Jeremiah Dixon. Soon afterwards Kirshaw nominated Mr. George Metcalf to be curate of the Chapel. They were both presented to the Archbishop, and each asked for a licence. But the Archbishop refused to do anything until the matter had been determined.

Thereupon Dixon began a suit in the Ecclesiastical Court, setting up his right under the election, but he deserted it as soon as Metcalf had filed his answer, and applied to the Court of King's Bench for a prohibition, which he obtained upon a suggestion of a prescriptive right of the inhabitants to elect the curate. He then deserted that suit, and filed his bill in the Court of Chancery to have his right under election established. The case came before Lord Chancellor Henley on February 28th, 1766. The Counsel for Dixon argued that the inhabitants of Armley and Wortley were entitled to the nomination (1) as founders and endowers of the Chapel, (2) under the Instrument of Consecration, (3) as having been at the whole expense of keeping the Chapel in repair, and (4) upon the usage, as having constantly elected a curate upon every vacancy. The Lord Chancellor, without calling upon the opposing counsel, dismissed the bill. "The Archbishop," he said, "gives the nomination to the inhabitants, which he had no right to do. These were the most improper people to give it to, being infected with sectarianism. They go into Spiritual Court—can't find any right there. They go into King's Bench—can't find any right there. Now they come to me: I think they have no right here. I am glad they have not. For this kind of Right of Nomination amongst inhabitants is a very bad thing, and creates constant disputes, quarrels and lawsuits."

So after $4\frac{1}{2}$ years of delay George Metcalf was licensed.

The battle seems now to have been over, but alarms were still sounding, and Kirshaw was obviously anxious not to be caught napping again. After $2\frac{1}{2}$ years of the law-suit he had returned to the method which had been more provocative perhaps, but much less expensive, the plan of the *fait accompli*.

In 1764 Chapel Allerton and Headingley both became vacant. At Chapel Allerton Richard Bainbridge, who had been curate since January, 1734-5, was buried on May 12th. On May 17th, Benjamin Tidswell, the clerk-in-orders at the Parish Church was licensed by the Archbishop as his successor.

At Headingley events moved even more quickly, witness the following letter of Samuel Disney, which is printed in Dean Malden's book on Headingley Church: it is dated April 4th, 1765.

"On December 10th, I had notice of Mr. Moore's death by a letter from my cousin, J. Hardcastle, sent by his servant, and which happened the day before, and on the 11th I was at Leeds

by 8 in the morning and having got a certificate from the clergy there and a letter of presentation from Dr. Kirshaw, Vicar of Leeds, I set out immediately for Brodsworth, the seat of His Grace the Archbishop of York, and on Wednesday, the 12th, was properly licensed by the said Archbishop upon the *sole* nomination of the said Dr. Kirshaw to the Chapelry and Curacy of Headingley. And this I mention (as there have been Disturbances made by some turbulent People in other parts of the Parish of Leeds relating to the Vicar's Right of Presentation to the Curacies in the Vicaridge of Leeds) that what has happened in my own case may be made use of as an evidence in case there should be any Disturbances of the like Nature in this place, which I hope indeed will never happen, but which it can never be improper to provide against."

There is apparently no record of any further trouble, and the Vicar of Leeds and the inhabitants of the Chapelries seem to have lived happily ever after.

¹ This paper is based upon one contributed by the present writer to the *Ripon Diocesan Gazette* in 1924.

² R. V. Taylor (*Leeds Churches*) states, without giving his authority, that Armley Chapel was built in 1630. But in the Minutes of the Opinion delivered by Lord Chancellor Henley in 1766 (see below), a MS. copy of which is in the Thoresby Society's Library, the date of the building is clearly given as 1653. This date is consistent with Thoresby's statement that Ralph Hopton, who gave the site, did not live to see the Church completed: he died in 1643. It also accounts for the delay in consecrating the Church. Bishops were not openly functioning in 1653; they were normally active in 1630. There had been a pre-Reformation Chapel in Armley (see T.S.P. ii, 210).

³ I owe to Mr. G. E. Kirk this extract from a book concerning Todmorden which may perhaps indicate a precedent for these rights. '[This chapel] . . . is likely to have been simply a small chantry or oratory. As Mrs. Gaskell observes in one of her books, the oratory, or 'field-kirk,' occupied the third or lowest class of ecclesiastical structures, according to the Saxon law, and had no right of sepulture or administration of the sacraments. It was so called because it was built without enclosure. The founder, according to the laws of Edgar, was bound, without subtracting from his tithes, to maintain the ministering priest out of the remaining part of his income. After the Reformation, the right of choosing their Clergyman at any of these chapels of ease was vested in the freeholders and trustees subject to the approval of the Vicar of the parish"—R. J. W.

⁴ Copied from a copy in the possession of the Vicar of Hunslet, of an engrossed copy of the original document belonging to Kirkby Fenton, Esq.

⁵ Printed in *History of Bramley Church*.

⁶ Quoted in *Hunslet Parish Church Jubilee Memorial*, by Rev. C. Gallacher, p. 39.

⁷ This account is taken almost *verbatim* from Mr. Mark Mideley's *Armley Church and Schools' Retrospect*, 1630-1907.

Oakwell Hall, Birstall

INVENTORY OF GOODS, 1611.

Transcribed and edited by AMY G. FOSTER, B.A.

In 1611 Oakwell Hall, Birstall, belonged to the Reverend Robert Batt, Rector of Newton Tony, Wiltshire. In his absence, the Hall was leased to his cousin, Mr. David Waterhouse, uncle and guardian of Edward Waterhouse, of Shibden Hall, Halifax. His agent was John Matteson who later entered the service of Arthur Ingram who purchased Temple Newsam in 1622. Matteson evidently took with him certain papers which remained at Temple Newsam and were eventually acquired by the Central Library, Leeds, in 1932. Among these papers is an Inventory, not of all the goods at Oakwell, but of so much of the furniture and fittings which Robert Batt left in the house and which were handed over to Lewes Waterhouse (another cousin) when David and his family left Oakwell after two years' residence. There is also an Account Book of the steward's daily expenditure covering the two years' residence, extracts from which have been printed by Mr. J. Sprittles in his *History of Oakwell Hall and Manor* (1947). The entry about the Walls is made on the first page of this book. Oakwell Hall is still surrounded by a wall partly of stone and old brick.

AN INVENTORIE of all Mr. Robt. Batt Goods in the house att Okewell, and delyvered to Mr. Lewes Waterhous this — of — 1611 viz.

IN THE HALL. Imprimus, 1 squar Table, 1 longe Table, 1 sydborde, 1 Range, tow longe seates, 2 formes, 2 Chairs, 2 tallends, flax & tuch box,¹ hande staffe.²

IN THE GREAT PARLORE. Item, 1 longe Table, 8 buffett stooles, 1 letle Table, liverie table.³ Mappes: viz. of ye world, palestine, ffrance, Spaine, low contries, Greece, Italie, Africa, Asia, England, Tables⁴ of both the univorsities. 1 Range.

IN THE LITTLE PARLORE. Item, 2 stand bedsteades with cordes⁵ and teastors,⁶ 1 Cupbord, 1 Range, 1 Counter.⁷

IN THE MAYDES PARLORE. Item, 1 stand bedstead with teastor and cord, 1 other stand half head bedstead with Cord, 1 forme for a bed.

IN THE BUTTRIE. Item, 1 Cupbord, 1 sidbord, 1 Counter,⁷ Certaine shelves, 1 safe, 1 lesse sid bord.

IN THE INNER BUTTRIE. Item, 1 Arke,⁸ some shelves.

IN THE MYLK HOUSE. Item, 1 Trustle⁹ and certaine shelves.

IN THE TAVOURNE. Item, 1 frame for hogheade to stand on, 1 salting fatt, 1 old Cheese presse, and a partition mad of Mr. Da[vid] Wa[terhouse] Cha[rges].

IN THE KITCHINE. Item, 1 Range, 1 old Cubbord, 1 Kitchine bord, 1 stone trough, 1 great Chaire, 1 forme broken, 1 pare of brigges.¹⁰

IN THE GREAT CHAMBOR. Item, 1 paire of bed stocks¹¹ with Cord, 1 Trucle bed¹² with cord, 1 letle Table, one Range.

IN THE LETLE PARLORE CHAMBER. Item, 1 stand-bedstead with teastor and Cord, 1 Cubbord, 1 Rang[e], the hainginges of dornicke¹³ with borders.

IN THE MYLK HOUSE CHAMBOR. Item, 1 stand bedstead with teastor and cord, 1 great Cheest.

IN THE BUTTRIE CHAMBER. Item, 1 Levorie Cubbord, 1 Chaire, 1 great Chest of Mrs. Wilkinsons.

IN THE HALL CHAMBOR. Item, 2 stand bed steades with teasers and Cordes, 1 other stand bedstead with Cord, 1 truckle bed and cord Mr. Waterhouses, 1 long Chest, 1 Counter.

IN THE ENTRYE CHAMBOR. Item, 1 stand bedstead with teastor and Cord, 1 presse came from heagg hall,¹⁴ 1 forme broken.

IN THE KITCHIN CHAMBOR. Item, 5 Arkes, 1 great hamper, 1 Counter, the florow laid and shelvd about of Mr. Da[vid] Wa[terhouse] Cha[rges].

IN THE PORCH CHAMBOR. Item, 1 great Cheest, 1 great stand bedstead that came from hagg hall,¹⁴ 3 paire of servant bed stocks.

IN THE NEW PARLOR. 1 longe table cam from hagg hall,¹⁴ 1 box of boxes for garden seedes.

IN THE NEW PARLORE CHAMBOR. Item, certaine old Armer with 3 or 4 old head peeces and the chambor flower laid of Mr. Da[vid] Wa[terhouse] his Cha[rges], 2 mayds tresle.

IN THE STUDDYE OVER THE TAVERNE. Item, 1 square Table, all Mr. Robert Batt his books to the number of 62 with certaine shelves, 1 Cheste was Alic birkbies but Clough toke such of Mr. Batts away instead thereof, 1 letle half headid bed stead with Cord, 1 Chaire, 6 Pewder dyshes great and small and 1 yett wanting, 1 duble Candlestick wanting, 1 brass mortre att northaw[?], 2 powder

Candlesticks, 3 Candlestick socketts, 2 bassins and 2 Eures, 1 hand bassine, 1 letle pewder seastre or Eure, 1 old brasse salt, 1 old chaffing dish, 1 chaffingdish bottome, 1 box of caste trenchers, 1 brasse pestle broken, 7 purslan¹⁵ dyshes whereof Mr. Phil' toke 1, 1 great hammere, 1 Cooles picke, ane old brasse pott, 1 old brasse bassin.

IN THE BREWHOUSE AND OUTHOUSES. Item, 1 lead,¹⁶ 1 pott of brasse in the wall, 1 old cubbord, 2 stone troughe, 2 ladders, 1 maskfatt,¹⁷ 1 glycare,¹⁸ 1 pair of gantries.¹⁹

IN THE STABLE. Item, 1 great Cheist.

IN THE STUDDYE OVER THE HALL STARES. Item, 1 fast letle table with some shelves.

IN THE YARD. I harmed sawe for cutting trees, 1 lance staf.

ENDORSED. The true Copie of Mr. Battes Inventorie att Okewell delyvered to Mr. Lewes Watterhous.

GLOSSARY.

1. FLAX BOX	Box to hold the flax or tow match for firing a matchlock.
TOUCH BOX	Box for touch powder or priming powder.
2. HANDSTAFF	Staff carried as a weapon.
3. LIVERIE TABLE	Table on which liveries or rations were put; also side table.
4. TABLE	Board or flat surface on which a picture is painted hence the picture itself.
5. BED-CORD	Cord for stretching the sacking of a bed.
6. TESTOR	Canopy over a bed supported on the posts of the bed or suspended from the ceiling.
7. COUNTER	Table or desk for counting money; or bureau.
8. ARKE	A large wooden bin or hutch for storing meal, etc.
9. TRUSTLE	Obsolete form of 'trestle'; a portable bed supported on trestles.
10. BRIGG	A wooden frame placed over a tub to support the strainer used in brewing; generally used in the plural. Early name for bedstead or rather its front and back parts between which the cross staves or rungs were laid.
11. BEDSTOCK	
12. TRUCKLE-BED	A low bed running on truckles or castors, pushed beneath a high bed when not in use.
13. DORNICH	Flemish town—name applied to fabrics originally manufactured there: silk or woollen or partly woollen fabric for hangings, carpets, vestments, etc.
14. HAGHE OR HAIGH HALL	In the parish of West Ardsley. An <i>Inquisition Post Mortem</i> , taken 19 November, 1607, on the death of John Batt says that he died possessed of property in Oakwell, Gomersal, and a capital messuage called Haighe with lands in Haighe, Woodkirk and West Ardsley.
15. PURSLAN	Porcelain.
16. LEAD	Large open vessel used in brewing.
17. MASKFATT	A mashing vat.
18. GYLCARE	Tub for holding wort.
19. GANTRY	Four footed wooden stand for barrels.

THE WALLS OF OAKWELL HALL.

October 1611.

Paid the 4th by Mr. Sterr : to Walker and Coulton in full for 28 Roods and a half [“& di”—a contraction for *dimidium* frequently found in these accounts] of wall at 7/6d. per Rood

1 13 9

Paid by him at another time

5 0 0

Paid by J. Matteson to them at twice as per his account

4 0 0

10 13 9

Ar. Walker and Coulton measured the Court walls this 4th of October 1611

The wall from the kitching end to Alic Birkby house is 2 roods and 4 fott in length and 2 yds and a half in height which is in flatt roods at 7 yards long and one yard high

Roods
5 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0

The garding wall from the hall dore to court wall is 1 rood and 2 yds in length and 2 yds and 1 fot heigh, which is lyke measure

3 0 0
yds
 $2\frac{1}{2}$

Att the stable dore of the top of a wall is 2 yds and a half

The wall, from the mylde wall that goeth from the hall dore, there to beginne and so to the soller end is 3 roods and 6 yds in length and 3yds in height which is in lyke measure

with the 2 yds and a half at stable dore is
of The same wall is 3 roods and a half in Length and 2 yds and a half in height which is in lyke flatt roods

12 0 0
8 $\frac{3}{4}$ 0

So the whole wall is as appeareth save
that they allowed $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Rood measure
of the height of the long wall

29 $\frac{1}{2}$ 0

The Population of Leeds during the Industrial Revolution.

By FRANK BECKWITH

I.

(i)

Among things of beauty, statistics may not rank very high, but to the social and economic historian they are of inestimable value. For the first phase of the Industrial Revolution it is unfortunate that information is not always readily available from which to compile accurate statistical data, for example, of population, so that in the eighteenth century itself not only were the merest approximations possible in more instances than not, but completely opposite theories were derived from the same set of facts. For the later period, when amateur theorists had been replaced by more expert theoreticians, less unreliable information was available and less disputable deductions therefrom made possible; not that until far into the nineteenth century statistics were free from error in the apparently straightforward task of enumerating the people, but with each Census they became more reliable. Modern research has attempted to remedy some of the defects in the information available for the pre-Census period, but no modern skill and ingenuity in adjusting figures can replace the lack of accurate contemporary data. Even if those data were accurate and readily available, problems of population would not necessarily be simple, but when the student begins to grapple with the records of pre-Census days he may be excused if the imperfection and inaccessibility of his sources lead him often to despair of ever reaching the truth. Approximation is all he can hope for, and proximity, he finds, is a no man's land of uncertain dimensions.

Besides being dull to look upon, statistical information is apt to prove deceptive unless the full implications of its drafting are carefully examined. This is a truism of statistics. Not only the figures themselves, than which nothing might often seem less ambiguous or unequivocal, must be carefully considered, but the

interpretation put upon them, their complexion, so to speak, varying with the eye of the beholder. Especially was this true among enquirers in the eighteenth century; perhaps it is also always true of measurements of human beings which are quantitative rather than qualitative. To compile sets of figures is less difficult than to draw correct conclusions from them. Yet for the earlier period the lament must ever be for the gaps which can never now be filled, although discoveries of information closed to our forefathers, or neglected by them, sometimes enable the modern student to make the picture a little more complete.

Any value the following paper may have will perhaps lie rather in its convenient assemblage of a multitude of facts about Leeds scattered in sources not readily available, than in any theories about them. They are compiled and used not by a mathematician but by a mere antiquarian for antiquarian purposes, the intention having been to find out how many people lived in Leeds, of what kinds and under what conditions, as part of the basis for the history of the town during this vitally important period of its growth. The figures can hardly claim to be original in the sense that they are derived from sources not previously in print, but it is curious, for example, that the true total for the parish in 1775 appears to have been overlooked by historians, although the evidence for it has been available since 1791. It has been necessary to tap not only the more obvious sources like the Census *Abstracts* and the local parish registers (so diligently transcribed and edited for the Society by the late G. D. Lumb) but also others which seemed at first sight unlikely quarries, and the pursuit expanded into a search among books and papers on a multitude of topics.

(ii)

The grave limitations of eighteenth century statistics of population have been discussed in detail more than once by experts¹ and cannot be re-examined here. Some of the earlier theorists are less to be blamed for paucity of fact than for falsity of theory. Topical examples which follow will perhaps explain some of the difficulties of obtaining information from which to compile an accurate numerical account of towns, but will also incidentally display the real aim of the researchers and the source

¹ See *Bibliography*, Gonner and Griffith.

of their errors. They were concerned not so much with particular towns as with England as a whole, and when they dealt with the former it was for the purpose of extracting from a local survey some mean or constant by which to draw wider conclusions. This paper is not concerned with their problem and much of their theorising can be neglected; but local information which was incidental to their aim will be of central value to ours. Their prognostications of the future are of much less value than their reckonings for the past, however unreliable the latter themselves may be.

The estimates of the earliest researchers, based as they were on unreliable evidence from various taxation returns, are now acknowledged to be of little value. Two more reliable methods of calculation were open to eighteenth century investigators in the days before an actual census. The ideal method was to make an enumeration of the people, using a personal canvass undertaken by volunteers over a limited area, and from a series of such surveys to obtain a constant or mean, generally the number of persons to a house; this was, if more accurate, a more complicated, and at times a more risky proceeding. It was not contemplated for the country as a whole, even, to quote a Leeds example, as late as 1791²: but it was performed in Leeds. A second method was to collect and compare entries in parish registers, obviously a useful and possibly the only feasible method for dealing with large areas or the country as a whole; it did not need to be done on the spot but could be performed by correspondence with willing collaborators among the clergy, and it cost less effort than a peregrination of the parishes. Both methods had disadvantages: the first was at best sporadic and was so far from being supported, that it was actually resented, by public opinion; the second depended on records which, as will now be shown, were defective in various ways.

Today the terms births and deaths are so familiar that caution is needed when considering a period at which those of baptisms and burials form the basis of the evidence as given in parish registers. Rickman³ long ago pointed out the deficiencies of the parish registers even as records of the arrivals and departures of members of the Church of England; in addition to those caused

² Lucas, *Inquiry*.

³ *Census*, 1821.

by the neglect of clerks, omissions were due to the conscientious objection of dissenters to accept the ministrations of the clergy and to much indifference on the part of the faithful. Rickman thought that the marriage entries were the least defective as they included those for all dissenters except Jews and Quakers; those for baptisms and burials were more unreliable, the first much more so than the second, doubtless on the principle that burial is more inescapable than baptism. Many churchfolk neglected to have their children baptized, some of the children died before being ready for baptism, registration was sometimes neglected by oversight, and dissenters made their own arrangements; and the same factors applied to burial records with the addition of the inability of the poor and the unwillingness of the miserly to pay the parson his fee. Proposals for remedying these defects, and others, fell upon deaf ears. Dr. James Lucas, of Leeds, for example, had begun by examining the local registers for medical purposes about 1790, and realising their potential value if complete proceeded to display their deficiencies and recommend improvements; he saw what great value they might possess for legal as well as medical purposes and suggested a full series of entries in the registers but saw no prospect of a full census ever coming to pass. Rev. William Wood, a fellow student of sociology in Leeds, collected bills of mortality which made provision for dissenters in the last quarter of the century.⁴ But with all their defects, the figures derived from the parish registers are not necessarily absolutely unreliable as guides to the growth of population, considered upon that principle of statistics that if the margin of error is fairly constant over a long period the deduced proportions are not vitally affected; but it would appear that in a rapidly growing town like Leeds, such a basis for calculation is of much less value than it would be for an area like York which was comparatively stationary and without a growing trade. Some small additional confusion is often due to the fact that different writers do not agree in giving the same total of baptisms and burials for a particular year.

⁴ On Lucas and Wood, see the bibliography. Lucas had been preceded in his suggestions by T. Kirke a hundred years before; Kirke's proposal for full entries is to be found in a ms. commonplace book belonging to John Lucas (Leeds Public Library) where he gives a specimen for Adel for 1691. Lucas was also doubtless stimulated by the work of Dr. Percival for Manchester twenty years before his own book appeared.

But the one source of confusion that has caused grievous miscalculation concerning Leeds has nothing to do with the registers. It is the confusion between parish and township due to the ambiguous use of the word "town" of Leeds. This error has led not only careless writers but some who have claims to scholarship to inform their readers that a vast increase in population took place in Leeds between 1775 and 1801; it is asserted that the inhabitants of "Leeds" grew in number from about 17,000 to about 53,000 during that period.⁵ No such increase took place; what these writers have done is to supply the population of areas which are vastly different, of the *township* in 1775 and of the *parish* in 1801. It will hardly be superfluous, therefore, to provide a description of the ancient divisions of the parish. Parish and borough were co-extensive, but certain small hamlets were outside for Poor Law purposes and not in the borough until 1832, although all along they had been ecclesiastically in the parish. In the eighteenth century, Tuke's survey was used⁶ to calculate that the Leeds parish was 30 miles 1 furlong in circumference, or 7 miles 3 furlongs deep from north to south and 7 miles 2½ furlongs broad from east to west; it comprised the Leeds *township* itself, an elongated hub some three miles from east to west and one and a half miles from north to south, surrounded by ten *out-townships* whose names are given in the appendix to this paper. Eden reckoned in 1797 that the area of the Leeds *township* was 4,000 acres, of which 30 were waste land; in 1842, Baker gave it as 2,672 acres 2 roods out of the borough's total of 21,450 acres.⁷ According to Wardell, writing in 1846, the ancient divisions of the "town" were at first six—Leeds Town, Leeds Briggate, Leeds Kirkgate, North and South parts of Leeds

⁵ e.g. Mantoux, by implication, in his classic work on the Industrial Revolution; A. C. Price, *Leeds and Its Neighbourhood* (1909), p. 295; J. S. Fletcher, *The Making of Modern Yorkshire* (1918), p. 301, or his *Leeds* (1919), p. 67. The Webbs make the same error.

⁶ e.g. by Wood (in Aikin's book, see bibliography) or *Guide Through Leeds* (1808).

⁷ For Eden, see bibliography. Baker's various studies of the condition of Leeds (see bibliography also) contain brief but valuable descriptions of the constituent parts of the borough with statistics. W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the West Riding* (1837), I 481, gives a concise statement of the divisions of the borough and the township, a list of the villages and hamlets within the township of Leeds (which township lay to the north of the river, except a small but populous area to the south), other relevant facts and minor exceptions and petty squabbles appertaining thereto. Both the 1831 and 1841 Census reports give the area of the Leeds township as 3,050 acres.

Main Riding and East part of the same—and subsequently thirteen—Kirkgate, South-East, East, South, South-West, Lower North-West, Upper North-West, North-East, Upper North-East, Lower North-East, High Town, North, and Mill Hill; after 1835 there was a re-arrangement into wards (12)—those of the Leeds township being Mill Hill, West, North-West, North, North-East, East (hamlets of Osmondthorpe, Skelton and Thornes included), Kirkgate and South—and those of the out-townships being Hunslet (township of Hunslet), Holbeck (townships of Holbeck and Wortley), Bramley (townships of Bramley, Armley, Farnley and Beeston), and Headingley (townships of Headingley-cum-Burley, Chapel-Allerton, and Potter-Newton), the hamlet of Coldcotes not being assigned.⁸ The old out-townships may thus be deduced from the list of wards. For the spiritual provision of these out-townships chapels existed at Armley, Beeston, Bramley, Chapel-Allerton, Farnley, Headingley, Holbeck and Hunslet during the eighteenth century; but in the Leeds township, naturally before the great era of church expansion, there were at first three churches, later five, only two of which possessed registers which were not negligible. Holy Trinity, St. James's and St. Paul's are of no significance for our particular purpose, whereas the parish church of St. Peter is essential. The other important church is St. John's, situated about half a mile away from St. Peter's, but it was much more used for burials than for baptisms. The fact to be stressed is that it is only by a combination of the registers of St. Peter's and of St. John's, and not by a consideration of St. Peter's alone, that even a moderately accurate account of vital statistics of the "town" can be obtained.⁹

The entries in these registers were the source most used for computing vital statistics before 1801 and were not neglected for many years after that date as a glance at the Census returns will show. They were presumed to show the increase or decrease of population, not only in the present or prognosticated future, but in the past also. Everything depended on their presumed

⁸ *Municipal History*, pp. 95-6 and App. xxii-xxiii.

⁹ By law, all marriages were the concern of the Parish church, and only occasional ones were permitted by special licence at the chapels; but the chapels are of an importance for baptisms and burials equal with that of the Parish church. All the out-townships except Potternewton were chapels.

relativity to the actual total population or on the mean or constant value derived from them and it is just this value which later experts have questioned; besides the deficiencies in the registers themselves, other sources of error were not wanting. The early method of sampling by every tenth year for the first half of the eighteenth century was obviously most unreliable, for that particular year might have been exceptional, and, as happened for Leeds, a wrong figure might have been provided as well.¹⁰ The effect of epidemics was apt to be obscured and no allowance was possible for the effect of immigration and emigration. In spite of all these defects, however, the parish registers are most useful, less for calculating totals of population than for estimating the comparative healthiness of a town and approximate rates of increase.

The method of a personal canvass for enumerating the people was, however, employed at Leeds in 1771 and 1775, the work being performed by a body of volunteers, and it is unfortunate that, so far as is known, it had not been done before and was not repeated before the first Census. The actual enumeration was only a means to an end and that end was to furnish the theorists Price and Percival with a mean or constant from which to work over a larger area by instituting comparisons; that mean was the number of persons that might be reckoned more or less universally to a family, and it was, as far as can be checked, probably the best of the vague and indirect methods of estimating total populations, better, at any rate, than other schemes like that, for instance, of multiplying an average of baptisms by 30. But such a rule of thumb method cannot yield more than approximate accuracy and, naturally, proves less valuable for a town which is growing rapidly. Statistics of houses were more easily found, as they were used for Poor Law purposes, and were indeed used in combination with statistics of families, but the two did not quite correspond in value; Percival¹¹ calculated, for example, that in Leeds (1771) four and one-fifth persons might be allowed to one family, but "not quite" five persons to a house, allowing each fifth house to contain two families "which seems too large an allowance." It was statistics of houses and not families that were furnished by the Census reports.

¹⁰ See p. 132 and 179

¹¹ *Leeds Intelligencer*, July 14, 1772.

It is known that some friends of William Wales made a survey of the Leeds parish as a check upon that made by friends of Price in 1771. The following extract from Wales's report will illustrate some of the difficulties which faced the enumerators :

"It would be almost incredible, were I to relate the opposition which this scheme of numbering the houses met with. My friends, in some parts of the country, were assailed, not only with persuasions, but by threatenings of every kind; such as loss of employment, prosecutions, and even blows. The letters which I have received from some of them are so extraordinary, that, I confess, I should almost have doubted the truth of them, if I had not experienced the same treatment myself, in some places, during a tour that I made last summer on this business. In a large manufacturing town, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, I was beset by a crowd of women, who had taken an alarm from the nature of my inquiries, and perhaps, escaped the fate of Orpheus by whispering one of the good women, who had set upon us, that his Majesty might possibly settle small annuities on every poor man and his wife who brought up a certain number of children, to be useful members of society. The news flew like wildfire, and I met with no further opposition there."¹²

The interest in questions of population in this last third of the eighteenth century had been enlivened largely as a result of a controversy raised by the excellent Dr. Price, whose gloomy prognostications perturbed contemporaries but are now proved to have been woeful prophecies very wide of the mark. This truly Peacockian "deteriorationist" was answered by Wales, Howlett and others of a more "perfectibilian" type, but into the ramifications of this controversy it is needless to enter here. The general results may have been vitiated by the absence of reliable data on a large scale—Price and his opponents drew directly opposite conclusions from their facts—but for Leeds, the revived interest has some direct value, as will have been perceived. At the very time Price was conducting his researches, Leeds had the advantage of the presence of that inquisitive clergyman Dr. Joseph Priestley, then and later to Price what David was to Jonathan, and he furnished Price with the result of a canvass in 1771. Wales followed up Priestley without delay, and J. Howlett, who also criticised Price, had some observations to make about

¹² Wales, *An Inquiry* ... p. 7; for this and other works, see the bibliography, and for more on Price and his work, see Gonner and Griffith. Fuller references are provided in the next few paragraphs.

Leeds. Besides another survey of 1775, the figures of a Poor's Assessment for 1772 are available, and in this decade the local newspapers suddenly begin to furnish bills of mortality. A more accurate registration of baptisms and burials began to be made in the parish registers, as valuable as it is fitful and incomplete, but probably betraying evidence of the contemporary interest so well summarised in James Lucas's remarkable little book published at Leeds in 1791. Lucas had an eye upon the Poor Law system as well as upon medical and legal matters, and it was the Poor Law system that induced Sir Frederick Eden to make his comprehensive survey published in 1797, in which he gives a substantial account of the poor at Leeds and includes certain population statistics. He had relied to some extent upon an account of Leeds furnished by Rev. William Wood, Priestley's successor at Mill Hill Chapel, and printed in Aikin's history of Manchester and neighbourhood 1795;¹³ Wood's friend Aikin had been a fellow student with Percival under Priestley and this grouping of friends provides yet one more piece of evidence of the zeal of the Unitarians for humanitarian causes. By this time the country was more than ready for the lucubrations of Rev. Thomas Malthus and an adequate Census: Malthus himself was the product of the Warrington Academy.

II.

In 1743, Cookson, vicar of Leeds, furnished Archbishop Herring with the scant information that the number of inhabitants in his parish was believed to be about 20,000 and that it was difficult to state the number of families.¹⁴ To a like request from Archbishop Drummond in 1764, Kershaw hazarded the guess that the number of families in the township was 5,000.¹⁵

¹³ "The statement of its population," wrote C. Wellbeloved (*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late Rev. W. Wood*, 1809. p. 67) of Wood's account of Leeds, "may be relied upon as then accurate, Mr. Wood having not long before been engaged in making an enumeration of all the inhabitants, by means of a personal application at each house."

¹⁴ *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns*, ed. S. L. Ollard and P. C. Walker *Yorkshire Arch. Soc., Record series*, lxxii (1929), II, 140. The editors seem gratuitously to assume that there were 4,000 families, reckoning five persons to a family; on that basis Leeds is second only to Halifax, a notoriously roaming parish. There are separate returns for places like Bramley.

¹⁵ Ms. returns at Bishopthorpe. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. G. E. Kirk. The return for Bramley gives 268 families.

These opinions are valueless for statistical purposes, though they may have given the archbishops a vague notion of the populousness of Leeds as compared, for example, with Halifax. A more careful survey of the township was reported by Dr. Priestley to his friend Price, and incidentally to Dr. Thomas Percival of Manchester, in 1771, according to which there were 3,899 families, comprising some 16,380 inhabitants.¹⁶ This is obviously of real importance for our purpose; it had the ulterior motive mentioned above, for Percival proceeded to calculate from it that four and one fifth persons could be allowed to each family, and to compare with it estimates from other towns, showing that Manchester's proportion of six and a quarter was exceptional. Percival also calculated that not quite five persons could be allotted to each house, supposing each fifth house to contain two families "which seems too large an allowance." Housing figures would doubtless be derived from the Poor's Assessment for Leeds, those obtained on May 14, 1772, for example, giving 3,237 inhabited and 108 empty houses.¹⁷ The aim of Price was in his own words, to show that

"this increase of people, therefore, in our towns has either quickened depopulation, or if not, it must have been owing entirely to the increase of trade."

and the increase of houses, as well as of people, in some manufacturing districts, was likewise derived from a depopulation of villages and country parishes. He thought a proportion of five persons to a house too large an estimate.¹⁸ Incidentally, as will be shown later, a proportion of four and a half persons to a house was found satisfactory by Baker in 1842, as it had been in 1831 and 1838.

It was actually, however, a rather more elaborate census of 1775 that Price used for his celebrated *Essay*, although his deductions were unaffected by the new figures, and as it has been much quoted by other writers it is worth describing in full. According to this enumeration, there were in Leeds (it is well to bear in mind the obvious fact, so often overlooked afterwards, that by Leeds is meant the township of Leeds) 4,099 families composed of 8,041

¹⁶ Letter to Price, October 3, 1771. *Works*, ed. Rutt, I (1) Percival's comments in a letter of June 29, 1772, was printed in the *Leeds Intelligencer*, July 14, 1772.

¹⁷ Thoresby Society, XXIV, 34; the half-yearly yield was £610.

¹⁸ *Essay on Population* (1780), pp. 7 and 27.

males and 9,076 females, a total of 17,117, or, according to a slightly different version, 4,096 families and 17,121 persons; a further analysis gives 3,121 husbands, 3,193 wives, 347 widowers, 793 widows, 861 bachelors, 1,330 spinsters, with 3,712 males under 21 and 3,760 females under 21.¹⁹ The proportion of four and one fifth persons to a family remained as before; on the proportion of families to houses something will be said presently.

Among the confutors of Price and his gloomy theories was William Wales.²⁰ Objecting to the basis of calculations in Morgan's book on annuities (1769), to which Price, Morgan's uncle, had contributed, Wales endeavoured to show that deductions from window survey and customs and excise statistics were false because the true number of cottages in certain parts of Yorkshire, for example, had been purposely withheld. How was one to get true facts? he asked:

"I observed that the advocates for a depopulation suppose that the destruction has fallen chiefly, and of late years wholly, upon the cottages; and that it was allowed, on all hands, that the principal manufacturing and trading towns have *increased*; and some of them, as Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Seffield [sic], Liverpool, and Bristol, most amazingly. It was moreover obvious that many cottages would not be found in large towns where there are no manufactures; consequently the desolation must have happened chiefly in small country towns and villages; in which places I knew it would be very easy for a person who lived on the spot to inform himself exactly of the present number of houses; and, if he had spent his whole time in the place, to recollect every material alteration which had been made in it for thirty or forty years past."

He thereupon circularised friends in the country and encountered the 'incredible' opposition mentioned above; but the generous treatment he received from the clergy enabled him to complete a fair survey of the country. After considering London at length, he proceeded to work his way south from the North Riding of Yorkshire, and arriving at Leeds he made the following careful statement:

"To the table which Dr. Price has given at p. 6 of his *Essay on the Population of England*, the following accounts of towns, in the neighbourhood of Leeds, may be added. They were taken immediately after the survey of Leeds, which he mentions, and by some of the gentlemen who were concerned in it.

¹⁹ Compare Lucas's table in the appendix to this paper (B).

²⁰ *Inquiry*, (1781); the 'Table' at p. 41.

Towns		Families	Souls	To a Family
Armley	...	359	1715	4 $\frac{3}{5}$ +
Beeston	...	192	862	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bramley	...	311	1378	4 $\frac{1}{5}$
Farnley	...	116	540	4 $\frac{3}{5}$
Headingley	...	143	667	4 $\frac{2}{3}$
Holbeck	...	508	2045	4 $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
Hunslet	...	806	3367	4 $\frac{1}{6}$ +
Wortley	...	196	894	4 $\frac{3}{5}$ -

He quoted without comment the enumerations of Leeds for "1770" and 1775, but he rather curiously omitted two out-townships, namely Chapel-Allerton and Potter-Newton. By a fortunate accident it is possible to supply the missing figure, at any rate jointly for the two townships, for the very year in question, and from the survey undertaken by the same volunteers. Writing in 1791, James Lucas, a Leeds surgeon, appended to his *Impartial Essay* on the parish registers, their deficiencies and their potential value if complete, specimen tables to illustrate his remarks; one of these, reprinted in the appendix to this paper, provides detailed statistics of the population of a manufacturing town, three specimen agricultural villages and three specimen manufacturing villages within the same parish, and although he chose to shroud the places in anonymity, it is simple enough to lift the veil, by comparing his entries with parish registers and other sources, and show that the town is Leeds and the villages six out-townships of Leeds. Fortunately one of the specimen villages is Chapel-Allerton (to which has been evidently joined Potter-Newton for his purpose)²¹ and the gap in Wales's list can be filled, at least so as to complete the total population for the whole of the Leeds parish; it is not possible to separate the two townships so as to enable a comparison to be made with their later development. In 1775, therefore, the total population of the parish was roughly 30,000, for certain small variations between Wales and Lucas do not permit a definite figure to be made,²² but at any rate the figure is accurate enough to provide such evidence as will, it is hoped, prevent the repetition of grossly misleading accounts of the growth of the population of Leeds.

²¹ As mentioned above, Potter Newton was the only out-wardship not a chapelry.

²² Lucas's caution against 'individual methods' in enumerating also suggests that the total cannot be regarded as more than closely approximate.

Wales was not the only critic of Price. John Howlett, too, upheld a theory of increasing population, but he relied on the evidence of bills of mortality; he selected two periods of twenty years each, the first from 'about the Revolution,' the second from '1758-60 or 61' and, as he said :

"Let us now travel to the north, and we shall there find population advanced still faster than any thing we have yet met with,"

for Leeds had in the first period 5,392 baptisms and 6,334 burials and in the second 7,312 baptisms and 7,983 burials, from which he concluded that on the whole its population had nearly doubled.²³

Lucas had mentioned that the local volunteers had been so pleased with the results of their survey that they had promised to undertake further research on another occasion, but this was not done, and was indeed rendered unnecessary by the Census of 1801. The Census answered Lucas's caution that such a survey should only be undertaken on an agreed plan (this was the aim of his specimen table) so as to avoid 'individual methods.' The figures for 1775 relating to the Leeds township (for those for the out-townships seem never to have emerged from oblivion) therefore continued to be used until 1801. The chief source of information continued to be parish register entries or bills of mortality corrected in some way by the addition of figures for dissenters to bring them nearer to actual births and deaths. William Wood, contributing his account of Leeds to John Aikin's book on Manchester and its neighbourhood, published in 1795, thus merely quoted the survey of 1775 in full but added a list of births and burials from 1764 to 1793, only, however, for the township of Leeds, which included figures for dissenters, a list copied and continued in the *Leeds Guide* (1808) up to 1804. In addition to a brief account of the size of the parish he noted that in the lowest ranks of the people there was more than one family to a house, and further stated that according to the Workhouse book, where all inhabitants were inserted, there were in 1793 houses to the number of 6,691. This would indicate that they had doubled in number in the space of twenty years, a not impossible but a scarcely credible feat, although Wales had already noted that the increase in cottage property had been 'amazing.' That number

²³ *An Examination of Dr. Price's Essay ...* (no date), pp. 121-2.

is confirmed, however, by the Census of 1801 (6,694 inhabited houses for the township and 11,258 for the parish) and multiplied by four and a half would yield about 30,000 inhabitants, a total which agrees approximately with the estimate of Eden in 1797 and slightly less so with the Census total of 34,669 in 1801. Between 1801 and 1811 the increase in houses was only about 1,200, the figures in the latter year being 7,854 for the township and 12,249 (an apparent error for 13,243) for the borough.

In his *State of the Poor*, Eden (1797) also quoted the survey of 1775, but added that "from some late calculations, it appears, that there are 7,000 families in the township, which, multiplied by four and a half, the supposed number in a family, give 31,500 persons." Eden's main concern was to give an accurate account of matters that concerned the poor, but he concluded his account²⁴ with a table of baptisms and burials in the township of Leeds from 1770 to 1793, which, combining the registers of St. Peter's and St. John's, is of proven reliability. It is evident that a selection of additions for dissenters, to show what sort of proportion their baptisms bore to those of the established church, is deduced from Wood's list.

The Census of 1801 is a landmark in the history of English administration and that it was accomplished not unsuccessfully is a triumph from which any defects, which even contemporaries recognised, cannot detract. It may be well, nevertheless, to quote the opinion of an eminent Leeds worthy upon the defects of this Census and later ones. That industrious but verbose theorist Michael Thomas Sadler uttered an early warning not merely against taking the figures of the first three Census reports at their face value but against deductions based on those reports.²⁵ The 1801 Census, he explained, was deficient because many folk regarded the survey as preparatory to some new fiscal or military regulation; that of 1811 was less incorrect but still the earlier suspicions had not been altogether allayed; but that of 1831 was much more accurate, a series of opinions in which he is confirmed by later writers. He proceeded to demonstrate how the deduced rates of increase had been overstated. It is hardly necessary at

²⁴ Pages 847-62.

²⁵ *Law of Population* (1830), II, 284 ff.

this point to quote actual figures for Leeds : a comparative table for the period 1801-1841 will be found in the appendix to this paper.

The first Census also gave statistics of houses and families and of occupations roughly classified into agriculture, trade and the rest; it added, in a separate part of the report, lists of baptisms, burials and marriages from the parish registers for the 'town' of Leeds, meaning the parish or borough. Marriages were given yearly from 1754, but baptisms and burials only every tenth year from 1700 to 1780 and thereafter annually; the figures are not invariably correct, if other sources by which they can be checked are reliable, and certainly the decennial totals, unreliable at best (for they were mere pickings, not averages), show a quite false picture of early eighteenth century Leeds, for those for 1700, 1710 and 1720 are township totals and those for 1730-1780 and onwards are parish or borough totals. In addition, the figures selected for 1740 appear to have been confused. Variations shown by newspaper bills of mortality and other sources will be seen in the tables in the appendix.

In 1811 the same analyses are continued, with an evident error in the total of inhabited houses (12,249 for 13,243), but to the mortality bills are now added notes on the sources, i.e. the parish registers. In 1821 the several small subdivisions made in the Beeston township in 1811 are re-united and a note added about an increase of blanket manufacture in the town. Far more detail appeared in 1831 and there was a long note on manufactures, a list of parish register books was given and details of the area of each division or township provided. The Census of 1841 is recognised to be the first really reliable enumeration, for by now Poor Law Unions had been created and civil registration districts established and other regulations adopted. An analysis of population by five-yearly age groups was included and a calculation made of the decennial rates of increase, but one of the most valuable sections was that which divided inhabitants by "country of birth," enabling some estimate of emigration and immigration to be deduced. But for Leeds there was one great drawback, an arrangement of the borough into wards for municipal purposes, the boundaries of which did not coincide with the older divisions, making it difficult to institute comparisons with the period 1801-31.

A concise statement of the difficulties was supplied in White's *Directory* for 1842. Explaining that the Leeds parish and borough (except four small hamlets in Temple Newsam and Seacroft) were co-extensive and divided into eleven townships, it showed why five others had unavoidably been introduced without figures into the list supplied by the *Directory* (Churwell, Gildersome, Horsforth, Roundhay and Shadwell); it was

"owing to the Registrars, at the last census, having returned only one total for each of their districts, thus mixing together, in one sum, the population of three or four townships, and rendering it impossible, in many cases, to shew a clear comparison of the last with the four former decennial enumerations, which were made by the Overseers of the Poor, in townships, and not in the newly formed districts."

Figures for the last census, it continued, had not been published in detail but only in summary, doubtless occasioned by the confusion the returns present compared with former censuses. Leeds Superintendent Registrar's district was not a Union under the new Poor Law and besides the sixteen townships already mentioned, it contained eight others and contained at the last census 168,667 inhabitants. The Leeds borough and parish had 150,587 and the Leeds township 87,613, with the exception of 991 inmates of public institutions and about 260 persons on board vessels, in coal-mines and other places on June 6, 1841. Details were given of the ten districts of the Superintendent Registrar.

Perhaps it is unnecessary to proceed further with the various later censuses; access to them is not difficult. So far quantity only has been considered. There is no such body of evidence for the quality of the population, but any consideration of what evidence there is, must be deferred to a later study of the factors that influenced vital statistics, such as housing, trade and health; a very few remarks, however, may not be irrelevant here.

Various classifications of the human ingredients of these totals exist. The most general is that into males and females, as was provided in the 1775 survey and in the Census reports, or again groupings into families, generally closely connected with housing statistics. By 1841 a more minute classification into age-groups had been arrived at, although a report of 1839 had made some attempt at a broad classification into the 'passive' and 'active' parts of the population of Leeds. This most excellent

report had valuable suggestions to make about the 'condition' of the people, based on a wide variety of statistical analyses. Analysis by occupation gradually became more detailed in the Census reports and later writers place much insistence on the large proportion of working class inhabitants. The proportions of native and immigrant population will be considered separately at a later stage in this paper, but the distribution of the population by area (showing which were the predominantly working-class areas) must belong to another paper altogether. Most of the available evidence relates to the Leeds township alone.

III.

An enumeration of the people was not an essay in simple, but rather in what Arthur Young styled 'political,' arithmetic. The interest in this science which had begun with Gregory King, received great impetus from the fear of under-population propagated by Dr. Price, followed by an equal fear of over-population at the time of the controversy raised by Malthus. The calculations of the earlier theorists were naturally no more than approximations, for a national census was not supported by public opinion or enforced by the state. In the absence of such a census, before 1801, investigators were obliged to rely chiefly on the bills of mortality or parish register entries, which, if more readily available, were much less reliable sources of information than a proper census; but there were a few sporadic attempts to enumerate select districts, not as an end in itself, but as a means to obtain a mean or factor, as already mentioned. It was rather the number of families that was first sought and then the number of members that might be reckoned to each family, a factor that might again be used for calculations on a broad survey; or the number of persons to a house might provide a like factor, once the total of houses was known and the total population. It was thus in the deductions from the various statistical surveys rather than in the surveys themselves that interest centred, in rates of increase or decrease and other problems; and when the great series of Census reports began it was not merely a total of population that was supplied, but details of houses and trades. The very fear of the people against being enumerated shows that some practical use was expected to be made of the results. Nineteenth century writers made use of the figures for purposes of research

into problems of sanitation, poor law expenses, housing, healthiness of trades, even political status.

The deficiencies of the parish register entries were recognised by eighteenth century writers and attempts made to remedy them. Marriage figures were fairly reliable but were not of great use for calculating totals of population, but baptism and burial figures, which might have proved more useful in deducing, at any rate increase rates, were of a doubtful reliability, especially where dissenters were numerous. Modern students have endeavoured to correct the entries of baptisms and burials into those for births and deaths, by the addition of a certain percentage, of 15 per cent. to baptisms and 10 per cent. to burials, as derived from later Census reports. In a way, Wood had done this for Leeds by including figures for dissenters, from which Eden deduced that from one eighth to one tenth was a satisfactory allowance to be added to the baptisms; unfortunately Wood's figures are for the Leeds township alone, but his figures for births roughly confirm Mr. Griffith's suggestion²⁶ of fifteen per cent. for them, while his figures for burials fall much below ten per cent. Any such method, however, is not very useful for a town like Leeds which was growing rapidly and adding numbers of immigrants yearly, although it might prove useful for a more stationary town like York or very useful indeed for the country as a whole. A simple test will show that the natural increase, the surplus of baptisms over burials, utterly fails to account for the growth of Leeds in its population, even with the proposed additions: that surplus was only about three thousand between 1775 and 1800, whereas the total increase cannot have been less than thirteen thousand people.²⁷

Various methods have been suggested for calculating the population of towns in the eighteenth century. William White,²⁸ in 1782, tried two methods which gave him remarkably close results for York: one was to multiply the number of inhabited houses by four and a quarter, the other to multiply the yearly average of births by 27 (according to the theory of Mohean). Two

²⁶ *Population Problems*, p. 16.

²⁷ For a contemporary calculation (*Leeds Intelligencer*, January 26, 1801) of the natural increase of Hunslet only, see Appendix D.

²⁸ *Philosophical Transactions*, LXXII (1782), i, 32 ff.

other schemes, recently revived by Mr. Tate,²⁹ are, first, that of multiplying by 30 the yearly average of baptisms of ten consecutive years, and second, that of multiplying by 31 the mean annual average of burials (assuming with Brownlee that in the early eighteenth century, at any rate, deaths were fairly constant at 32 per 1,000, or roughly 1 in 31). Their uselessness can be tested.

But parish register entries have their value: regarded as statisticians' samples they may help to show the healthiness of a town, especially when, as is unfortunately only too rare, supplementary information is provided for the age and cause of death. In any event, it is first necessary to ascertain the numbers of baptisms and burials, a process fairly simple in most districts, but not one devoid of all difficulty; and although Leeds may now be considered fortunate in having an excellent series of printed registers,³⁰ those records are not as perfect as one could wish, notably early in the century, and certain differences reveal themselves between totals derived from them and others derived from bills of mortality as printed in the newspapers, for example. Especially is it essential to account for dissenters and immigrants towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

THE MARRIAGE RATE

A steady increase in the number of marriages up to the turn of the century was followed by a larger rise, as was to be expected in a town growing rapidly. From 1700 to 1750 marriages had rarely numbered more than two hundred a year; the decennial averages thereafter (see Tables IV and V) were, from 1750 to 1830, 246, 260, 321, 404, 491, 592, 744, 982. Griffith notes a general trend which showed a rise to 1790 and thereafter a fall to 1836-46, in the country as a whole; more particularly he notes a rise in 1763-4 after the peace, a fall in 1780 in time of war, a high level between 1780 and 1805, with, however, a decline in the early nineties and a rapid fall between 1798 and 1801, both due to epidemics and scarcity, then a rise from 1802 to 1804 and in 1814-15, times of peace and plenty, followed by a drop in 1817, a year of epidemics.

²⁹ W. E. Tate, *The Parish Chest* (1946), p. 81.

³⁰ Publications of the Thoresby Society.

In Leeds there was a noticeable rise in the middle fifties and sixties and a fairly regular climb from 1769; the most spectacular fall is in 1791, which is compensated for, however, by a very large rise in 1792; there are declines in 1800-1, in 1804-5 and in 1808, but great increases in 1799, 1802-3, 1806-7 and from 1809. This fluctuation is particularly notable in the decade 1811-21, which shows a swing from 581 in 1811 to 887 in 1818.

In themselves, as has been mentioned, figures for marriages, although the most reliable of the three series of register entries, are of little use for calculating totals of population, but where calculable they yield a rate which is remarkably consistent. Table VI provides this rate, ascertained according to the modern method of calculating it, and it will be seen that the rate for Leeds was somewhat higher than the average for the country, if Mr. Griffith's figures are correct.

Contrasted with baptisms, figures for marriages may show in some fashion a fairly constant rate of *fertility*. For what the result is worth, it may be recorded that the number of marriages divided into the baptisms upon a decennial average for the same set of years shows a remarkable lack of variation for the period of seventy years: from 1761-70 to 1821-30 the proportion of baptisms is 3.2, 3.1, 3.1, 3.3, 3.4, 3.1 and 3.2 on this basis. Griffith, however, adopts the principle of dividing the marriages of a period into the baptisms of five years later, to obtain somewhat higher proportions for the country as a whole, but one which rises rather than falls over the period 1775-1830. On this latter basis the following comparison may be made:

	1775-1784	1780-1789	1785-1794	1790-1799
Leeds (registers)	3.397	3.715	3.801	3.259
Griffith	3.674	3.730	3.646	3.625

M. T. Sadler was more gloomy: this anti-Malthusian, whose verbosity is even greater than his considerable industry, held tenaciously to a theory, or great 'law,' that "the prolificness of human beings, otherwise similarly circumstanced, varies inversely as their numbers," and more particularly that the prolificness of marriages diminished in towns as the population augmented and condensated, as he put it. His vast and complicated calculations roused the wrath of Macaulay, whose attack in the *Edinburgh Review* (it was the lightning answering the wind) began a con-

troversy which formed a curious prelude to their Parliamentary contest at Leeds not long afterwards.³¹ Sadler referred to Leeds in detail :³²

"In the first period recorded by Dr. Short, ending early in the eighteenth century, the births were to the marriages as 3·73 to 1; in the second, including sixteen years, and ending in 1746, as 3·38. In 1756 the proportion, calculated on the published registers, would be 3·03 only, but doubtless inaccurate, in consequence of what I take to be a palpable mistake in giving the marriages of that year as more numerous than any of the succeeding ones for many years afterwards. In 1801 the population was 53,162; the same proportion was, during the ten preceding years as 3·30 to 1. In 1821 the population was 83,796 and that proportion, calculated as before on the last decenniary, had become 3·07 to 1."

His figures for the later period were accurate enough, but those for the earlier period are based on insufficient data (pickings rather than averages, for particular years), a fault inherent in any calculations based on the Census samples for years before 1780. He relied too on the division into equal periods, and not on Griffith's method.

Griffith found that fertility seemed to be low from 1785-1790 to 1800-1805, then higher from 1805 to about 1825, with a pronounced peak in the middle of this latter period, followed again by a low level. Yet the first period showed high baptism and marriage rates, that for the period 1810-1820 falling rates, evidence that increased fertility counteracting the falling rates was an important factor in the increase of population.

This was the age of Malthus and the old Poor Law system and men were very much alive to problems of population, especially as they concerned early marriages and unwanted, too numerous and illegitimate children. To discuss these problems would hardly be warrantable here, but Griffith³³ in his full discussion of them draws attention to that new trend in industrial society which favoured early marriages—and to the contemporary anxiety for the too plentiful products of those marriages.

³¹ Thoresby Society, *Publications XLI, Miscellany* 12, p. 40 ff.

³² *Law of Population*, II, 505.

³³ *Op. cit.*, chapters V-VI.

BIRTH (OR BAPTISM) RATE

In the country as a whole, it is fairly evident that in the earlier half of the century the birth rate was lower than in the latter half, although it was rising steadily; there were checks about 1710 and 1760, possibly due to war conditions and there was a falling off after 1790, due to a like cause and other harmful factors, which lasted till the mid-nineteenth century. The peak period lasted from about 1775 to 1805. Further, the birth rate was constantly higher than the death rate.³⁴

For Leeds, it is possible and it will be advantageous, to provide statistics of baptisms, at any rate for most of the period with which this investigation is concerned, not only for the parish as a whole, but separately for the Leeds township individually and the out-townships collectively.³⁵ Thus, perhaps, the difference between a comparatively low-lying and compact (but not, at first, altogether congested) area, the 'town' and the centre of trade, and the more rural areas may be discerned; but the difference is not absolute for among the out-townships some were recognised even in the eighteenth century as mainly manufacturing and others as agricultural. This situation is more important for the death-rate, to be considered separately, but it may have importance for the birth-rate; there is a limit, however, to the detail it is expedient to provide in a paper like this and figures for the chapelries can be ascertained up to 1812 in the volumes of registers published by the Society, by those who need this detailed information.

The question of fertility has been considered; according to Griffith its rate fluctuated, now rising with a decreasing marriage rate, now falling with an increasing marriage rate, but always acting as an important factor in the increase of the people. Early in the nineteenth century, a complicating factor was the recent tendency to earlier marriage. It is not possible here to discuss the whole problem of preventive checks and the Malthusian moral restraint, nor is it fortunately necessary to dwell upon artificial restriction of births, but Griffith's arguments on these points are worth consideration. But if marriage were taking place earlier in a man's career, it is *a priori* likely that he would get his quiver fuller and quicker than heretofore.

³⁴ Griffith, *op. cit.*, for a full discussion of this problem.

³⁵ Table II, containing figures from 1734 to 1800.

There can be no doubt that the birth rate rose during the eighteenth century, but, as will be obvious, the rate in itself will not account for a rapid increase in population if the death-rate kept pace with it. The 'natural increase' or preponderance of births over deaths, is thus larger or smaller according to the largeness or smallness of the difference between the two. In an industrial town, even a growing natural increase will not account for a large and rapid growth, but this is to anticipate a later argument. For the moment, the significant fact is that the birth rate by itself is not of great value, though not to be neglected, nor is it, as mentioned frequently above, a birth rate at all, but a baptism rate and as such is the least reliable of the three series; its importance lies in its relation to the death rate.

THE LEEDS TOWNSHIP: Parish church of St. Peter and St. John's church.

At the Leeds Parish Church itself, baptisms increased very slowly indeed in the first half of the century year by year: from 1734 to 1752 they exceed 400 only twice, in 1753-4 a higher level is attained, from which a drop occurs yearly until 1759, and then a fluctuation follows between 400 and 500 until 1769, at which point a fairly constant rise suddenly develops which continues in the 600s from 1775 to 1783 and thereafter leaps to over 1,000 from 1792, except perhaps in 1794-6. But it is not until after 1768 that there is a constant surplus of baptisms over burials.

To give a more proper representation of the situation in the township, however, it is necessary to add to these figures those derived from the register of St. John, a chapel of ease within the township and situated only half a mile from the parish church. This addition has the uniform effect of making the figures worse on balance, for although the number of baptisms is not always negligible, it is in its numbers of burials that St. John's is significant. On this new basis, it is not until after 1784 that there is a constant surplus of baptisms over burials and that surplus is a diminishing proportion.

The picture is made somewhat brighter by adopting the suggestion of a recent historian, Mr. G. T. Griffith, that an addition of 15 per cent. should be added to the register entries to convert baptism into birth figures. Fortunately there exist for Leeds, but only for the township and only for the latter part of the

century, certain figures of baptisms, or births (as Wood their provider indeed styles them) which demonstrate the truth of Mr. Griffith's proposal. On decennial averages, Wood's figures provide additional percentages as follows, reckoning them as totals of dissenting entries :

1764-70	- 19.5 p.c.
1771-80	- 11.4 p.c.
1781-90	- 13.7 p.c.
1791-1800	- 11.6 p.c.

There is one possible complication (which may not really exist) in that these figures of Wood's may refer to inhabitants of the whole parish, in that dissenters might, at this early date, come from out-towns to the 'town' meeting-houses for purposes of record. The birth-rate for 1775, already high on parish register figures (36.5), would thus become even higher (at the remarkable figure of 39.8), and as Wood's additions to the burial-rate (to be considered in detail later) are a much smaller percentage, the whole position in the township is much improved, if still far from ideal.

THE OUT-TOWNSHIPS

By themselves the chapelries in the out-towns show a much healthier development. The growth in the annual total of baptisms is much smaller and slower, rising from about 250 in the late '30s, by easy stages to about 350 in the middle '70s, but thereafter, from 1775 it mounts more rapidly, never falling below 400 after 1778, nor below 500 after 1789 and rapidly rising in the '90s to more than 600 in most years. Only five times from 1734 to 1800 does the number of burials exceed that of baptisms—in 1740-1 (slightly), 1741-2, 1746-7 (heavily) 1766 and 1770; it is true that often the margin is slight but before 1740 there is clear gain, restored after 1744 (except 1746-7) until 1753 when a series of almost annual alternations between good and bad occurs until 1775, and from that date there is a distinct annual gain (except in 1794, and less noticeably in 1796).

The figures for the individual chapelries are naturally much smaller and inferences deducible therefrom not so safe; gains over burials show many variations. Hunslet shows the largest totals, and there, before 1771, more losses than gains occur, followed by small gains for a few years between 1771 and 1780 and thereafter larger gains except for set-backs in 1781-2, 1784, 1794 and

1796-7.³⁶ At Armley there is growth and gain except for 1735, 1740-1, 1746, 1754, 1758 and 1794, and this chapelry gives the second largest proportion of total increases. Holbeck after showing modest gains up to 1758 (except 1734, 1740-1, 1746, and 1753) enters a sorry period from 1758 to 1779, when its modest gains return (except the poor year 1796). Beeston has a balance of gains and losses right down the century, apparently just about holding its own. Somewhat like Beeston in total growth, Bramley shows a contrary consistent, if small, gain in baptisms (except for 1761, 1770, 1774, 1787 and 1795). The above townships were regarded as more manufacturing than rural: Chapel-Allerton, Headingley and Farnley were more rural and less populous, and showed no appreciable gains. What number of immigrants made their way to the more industrial of these areas, it does not seem possible to estimate.

In the parish as a whole, a different picture emerges. It can scarcely be wondered at that Dr. Price, who was no fool, should have taken alarm if he looked at figures such as were provided by the Leeds registers up to the time he made his researches. In the 'thirties there was clear gain; in the 'forties gains and losses alternate; in the 'fifties gains are not large, and in the 'sixties they almost cancel one another out. It is not till the 'seventies that there is constant gain even if it is small; that gain continued on a larger scale in the 'eighties (except 1788) and increased still further in the 'nineties being at its lowest in 1793. Perhaps the situation will be better and more clearly grasped if presented in tabular form: this has been done in Table V where the annual averages for various decades are given, together with the percentage of increase and the average balance over burials. A birth-rate in modern terms may be calculated on 'uncorrected' and 'corrected' baptism figures for dates when fairly reliable totals of the population are known: this has been done in Table VI. All these results are to be accepted with caution, bearing in mind the questionable reliability of baptism figures, but it is clear that by comparison, Leeds has a higher rate than the average for the country, except in 1831.

The great towns in general showed a higher number of births than this average for the country during the Industrial Revolution;

³⁶ cf Appendix D.

they also, however, showed a higher death rate, but into the whole question of the influence of the new great towns upon the growth of population it is hardly appropriate to enter here. Yet as more attention came to be placed on the latter rate by students of public health, the former rate tended to be overlooked. In the Statistical Report on Leeds of 1839 much stress is laid on vital statistics, but apart from an attempt to analyse births according to the social status of the parents, it simply notes that

"if in the statistics of the whole kingdom, the proportion of births to the population be 1 to 28 and of deaths 1 to 36, the condition of Leeds bears out the report of the Registrar-General as to its unhealthiness; for its births, in relation to the population are 1 to 25, and its deaths 1 to 28½."

and proceeds to concentrate on the deaths. In 1867, it was pointed out that to consider the undoubtedly high death rate in Leeds was to give the town a worse name than it deserved, for it also had a high birth rate, even if it was unfortunate that infant mortality was also very high. More will be said presently on this topic in the section which deals with the death rate and especially with infant mortality.

The report of 1839, mentioned above, classified children according to the occupation of the parents, showing that the proportion was greatest among the lower classes and that it gradually lowered as the social scale highered, through out-door handicraftsmen, in-door handicraftsmen and tradesmen and was lowest among the independent and professional people. More detail of the distribution of births was supplied in Chadwick's great report of 1842. Mortality rates for Leeds were there considered according to the wards of the town, and it was found that the birth-rate varied from 1 in 22 to 1 in 28 and the death-rate from 1 in 23 to 1 in 36 according to the density of population and the good or bad state of the streets. Again, they were considered according to the registration wards and it was then found that births, and especially illegitimate births, increased in greater proportion than mortality—and, if registration were more accurate, the report added, it might be that these births would be still more close to mortality in the worst conditioned areas, proving a general conclusion that the proportion of births to total population was greatest where there was the greatest mortality. The reference above to the birth-rate in Leeds in 1867 was probably

derived from a comprehensive report by James Braithwaite upon the high death rate in the town published two years previously; this report is thus more appropriately discussed in the following section on the death rate, but it does contain incidental information upon the high birth rate. One explanation of the high birth rate was supplied by a witness before the Pollution Commission of 1867 (the date referred to above), namely that it was, at any rate recently, due to an influx of young people to supply the needs of manufacture.

BURIAL (OR DEATH) RATE

The death-rate, if obtainable, is perhaps the most important of the three rates and the 'burial' rate the most reliable; it was certainly the one which most interested those Leeds citizens concerned for the reputation as well as the healthiness of the town, for even if it lowered as the years went by, it was one that caused constant anxiety. It was always high, even if not so high as at some other plague spots like Liverpool, and attempts were made not merely to establish a remedy but to find a cause and both were far from simple. Among preventive measures were the establishment of a General Infirmary in 1767 and (after being proposed, but not adopted, in 1779) a House of Recovery in 1801-4; but systematic research had to wait until after the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act. Thereafter enquiry into the sanitary state of the town was pursued relentlessly until effective measures were put in hand. The roll of Leeds physicians and men of public spirit passionately concerned for public health may be small but it has never lacked important names like those of Lucas, Thorp, Thackrah, Sadler, the Heys, Robert Baker, Chadwick and others. Much important, if now forgotten, work for public health was performed in Leeds, especially the once renowned researches of Thackrah and the unrecognised labours of Thorp, but that of the others is worthy of record, revival and remembrance.

In general, for the country as a whole, the death rate began to fall from 1750 to 1760 after a steady climb, yet it rose again in what is reckoned the worst period of the century, the 'sixties; recovery was slow to 1780, but thereafter the rate fell to 1820, with a check in the mid-'nineties owing to adverse conditions. For London,³⁷ it was clear that in the second quarter of the century

³⁷ George, *London Life* (1925), chap. I.

burials were increasing as baptisms were decreasing and the bills of mortality showed a serious state of affairs : whereas, according to Rickman's adjusted figures the death-rate in 1700 had been 1 in 25, in 1750 it was 1 in 21 or even 1 in 20 and in 1740 had possibly been even higher ; but in 1797-1801 it was 1 in 35, from 1801-1811, 1 in 38, and in 1821, 1 in 40. Infant mortality was very great and on this special factor something will be said in detail presently, but into other explanations, for example the evil power of cheap gin, it is not intended to enter here. Griffith insists on the spectacular drop in the death rate at the end of the century, a fact once recognised by contemporaries and then long forgotten, and argues that in the age of Malthus that drop was of more vital importance to the growth of England's population than even the rise in the birth-rate. His general table in the form of a graph³⁸ demonstrates the drop in striking fashion.

Some hint of the importance of the death-rate in Leeds will have been gathered from remarks on the birth-rate above. In the parish as a whole, the 'forties show gains and losses over births alternating wildly about every two years and leaving no gain in population at all over the decade ; in the 'fifties there are slight gains annually except for 1756 and 1758 ; in the 'sixties gains and losses alternate again but on balance there is a distinct gain ; but from the 'seventies gains are consistent and continue prominent, with checks but not losses in 1788 and 1793, until the end of the century. By 'gain' is here meant 'natural increase' or surplus of births over deaths.

In the township alone, the late 'thirties show more burials than baptisms and the 'forties start disastrously and show alternate recovery and relapse as in the parish as a whole, the ultimate loss being fairly heavy, nearly ten per cent. surplus of burials. The fifties show on balance distinct gains in baptisms, 1755-6 and 1758 being years of recession ; the 'sixties show more years with than without loss of surplus baptisms, but the balance of loss is much less serious than in the 'forties ; the 'seventies show small but steady gains (three years have losses, 1770, 1773 and 1779, but they are not large) ; the 'eighties do not reveal large gains (two years reveal losses) ; and in the 'nineties there are somewhat larger gains (except for a relapse in 1793).

³⁸ Reproduced in G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History* (1944), p. 342.

This state of affairs is deduced from the parish register entries. If Wood's totals, which include dissenting figures, are taken, however, a much healthier picture is given, as has been shown above: only three years show losses down to 1800 (or more burials than baptisms, i.e.) 1767, 1768 and 1775—that for 1767 showing the largest loss (80), that for 1768 being negligible, whilst that for 1773 may even be a misprint. This is not due to the fact that Wood's figures for burials differ very greatly from the parish register entries—the variation is small, yielding additional percentages of only 5·1 (1764-70), 3·2 (1771-80), 1·3 (1781-90), and even a deficiency of 4·5 (1791-1800)—but to the fact that his baptisms are much larger as shown already.

THE ACTUAL DEATH-RATE

In 1782, White³⁹ quoted the proportion of deaths in Leeds as 1 in 22, and at York as 1 in 28½, an effectual demonstration, he thought, of the superior healthiness of the latter town. If true, the position at Leeds was indeed serious; but White has made an error all too familiar; clearly his figure refers to the year 1775 and it is more than likely that he got it from Wood's totals, some years naturally before the latter made his contribution to Aikin's book, or if not from Wood direct, from a source common to him and Wood. Now Wood, giving his figures for the Leeds township when he wrote for Aikin, supplied for the solitary year 1775 a figure for the whole *parish*, namely 781 burials, which, of course, if divided into the total population of the *township* (17,121) gives roughly 22. The true proportion is 781 burials to about 30,000 population, being that of the parish, or 1 in 38; or properly for the township, about 550 burials to a population of 17,121, or 1 in 31. Not only does White illustrate this common error, he has also selected a year which is below the average for the decade, but even so, on a proper average figure, the rate is still 1 in 35 for the parish or 1 in 30 for the township. Griffith deduces the average for 1796-1806 to have been 1 in 37 on the unadjusted figures for baptisms, or 1 in 39 on adjusted, or death-rate figures, and, for the country as a whole 1 in 42, thus showing that Leeds was above the average in unhealthiness.

³⁹ *Philosophical Transactions, loc. cit.*

Bigland in 1812 calculated from the average number of burials that the rate was 1 in 33 annually.⁴⁰ A mighty wave of interest in vital statistics swept over Leeds and the country in general in the 'thirties, for reasons obvious enough. Andrew Ure in 1835, anxious to prove the blessings of the factory system, used many arguments to support his thesis, but that relating to mortality is somewhat as follows: basing his figures on "returns procured by Mr. Thorpe of Leeds," he showed that the mortality in Leeds in 1801 was 1 in $32\frac{1}{2}$ (the burials of 1798-1800 totalling 2,882, and averaging 941 annually, in a total of 30,669) whereas in 1831 with a total of 71,602, the burials of the three preceding years had been 5,153 or 1,718 annually, yielding a rate of 1 in $41\frac{1}{2}$. This, he imagined, sufficiently answered those who decried the factory system; and he proceeded to slay those decriers, who relied on statistical tables "fallaciously" compiled, arguing that only a very small proportion of the population of large towns was engaged in manufactures.⁴¹ The high death-rate continued, however, but Ure was no doubt right in his contention that it was not the factory system that was to blame; a more probable source of the mischief was the insanitary condition of the new manufacturing towns, to which problem it will be necessary to turn presently.

Ure was no doubt hinting at the array of statistics provided to support the conclusions of Sadler's Factory Commission, which were seemingly impressive; the Commission had been preceded in Leeds by a detailed factual survey by Thackrah⁴² of the influence of trades on health, a report of which Sadler made full use. A sombre picture of life in a factory town was presented; but Ure was one of the unconvinced. Thackrah had in 1831 set out not merely to prove the injurious effect of town trades on health and mortality but also to show the causes of the injury. He began by asserting that on an analysis of age groups as known in 1821 the number of children in the West Riding might be considerably greater than that in other ridings, yet the situation was reversed as adult life was reached: the ratio continued to decrease, or in other words, the duration of life was consider-

⁴⁰ *Beauties of England and Wales: ... vol. XVI [Yorkshire]*, by John Bigland (1812), p. 789.

⁴¹ *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (1835) p. 396.

⁴² See bibliography.

ably less in the West Riding. He compared Leeds with Ripon and Pickering Lythe and found the death rates to be respectively 1 in 55, 1 in $67\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 in 74. His figures seem high but they are accurate enough; it happened, however, that 1821 marked the lowest death-rate in the century. Sadler was chiefly concerned to make a good case against the employment of children for long hours in factories; he supplied tables more concerned with longevity than with total death-rates, valuable enough but not to be accepted uncritically. Something more will be said of them in a later section on infant mortality, to which they are more appropriate, but Sadler's reputation as a statistician was severely handled, if not demolished, not only by Ure but by Macaulay.

After 1835 one of the first acts of the new "open" corporation was to appoint a committee to report on the "condition" of the town. As it was a "Statistical Committee" it backed up its fearsome commentary on the physical and moral state of the population with detailed tables of many kinds. These were limited in scope to the Leeds township alone, and covered one year (November 1838 to October 1839) but for the first time in its history Leeds had a full and indisputable chart and diagnosis of its condition. The result showed not only how progress in industry could transform a not too unpleasant market town into a cauldron of abomination, but how human welfare might have to wait upon increasing trade and profits in the process.

Its enquiries into vital statistics were extensive, but in general it noted that if in the whole kingdom the proportion of births to the population be 1 in 28 and of deaths 1 in 36, Leeds showed that the Registrar-General was correct as to the unhealthiness of the town, for its rates were 1 in 25 and 1 in $28\frac{1}{2}$ respectively. Later researchers endeavoured to show that this was a too sweeping generalisation.

In 1841 the somewhat alarming figure of 21 was given as the average age at death in Leeds. But the report went on to give a warning against the injudicious use of tables of proportional mortality for comparing the progressive sanitary condition of towns. Of two communities having the same proportions of mortality, it continued, one might have a large infant mortality and the other not, proving entirely different conditions; this applied in fact to Leeds as compared with Liverpool. The average age of death at Leeds might indeed be 21, but deaths were

chiefly among the young of the labouring classes, and the true proportion was actually 1 in 37. An appended table in the report showed deaths according to registration districts, the dire conclusion being drawn that mortality varied coincidentally with the physical condition of the district—and incidentally that births, especially illegitimate births, increased in greater proportion than mortality. It was shown, rather curiously, that Chapeltown now headed the list with the highest death-rate. The leading student of public health in Leeds was at this time Robert Baker and the value of his work for the good of the town cannot be over-emphasised. He made a special report on Leeds for use by this Sanitary Commission of 1842⁴³ and showed by detailed statistics that "fatality" was in the ratio of ventilation and drainage, small and dirty areas with many bad streets yielding higher mortality than areas where the streets were wide and the drainage good. In Leeds, therefore, the rate varied from 1 in 23 to 1 in 36 for deaths, and from 1 in 22 to 1 in 28 for births. According to another of his estimates, the mortality per cent. for Leeds over the period 1840-1-2, the total of deaths being 13,463, was 2.7, a much better figure than Liverpool or Manchester could provide. In a table of relative mortality for seven principal towns on an average of 1838-39-40, Leeds had a death rate of 1 in 36.73, almost the same as Birmingham but better in record than Sheffield and Liverpool. Baker gave the following analysis from the Registrar-General's reports, to show the variation in the average age of death among different classes in Leeds, a table much quoted by later writers :

Deaths	Average
79 Gentlemen and professional men	44
824 Tradesmen and farmers	27
3,395 Operatives	19

But one of his most interesting contributions was a map to explain how fever and cholera followed the track of badly drained and badly cleansed districts; more will be said on this topic later, but it is one of the first indications of the trend of expert opinion away from the suggested evil influence of factory life on mortality towards the true cause, sanitation. To this map was appended a table showing the variation in the death and birth rates according to density of population and sanitation :

⁴³ See bibliography.

WARDS	Population	Population on each acre	Street		Births to population	Deaths to population
			Good	Bad		
I-II	28,775	207	64	109	1 in 22	1 in 23
III, IV, V	23,039	118	60	100	1 in 26	1 in 30
VI, VII, VIII	30,306	84	120	130	1 in 28	1 in 36

In 1844 the first report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into the State of Large Towns appeared. In a comparative table of statistics of deaths, derived from the Registrar-General's quarterly tables, Leeds compares favourably with other large towns, having the same "mortality per cent." as Sheffield and a much better rate than either Manchester or Liverpool, the latter maintaining its "usual bad pre-eminence." In the second report, published a year later, James Smith gave some account of Leeds in detail, but in general he relied on Baker's researches and is concerned strictly with his subject of the condition, not the statistical measurement, of the labouring classes. He repeats the 2.7 per cent. mortality quoted in the first volume, and adds that although the average age of all who died was 23 years 4 months, the proportion of infant deaths under five years to the total deaths was 30.5 per cent., so that the average age of adults at death was 51 years 1 month. In this same year, 1845, Leather reported to the Leeds Town Council on sewerage, but although he quotes the high death rate, without comment, derived from the Statistical Committee's report of 1839, his concern, as far as relates to the population, is with sewerage and drainage areas both within the town and down the whole Aire valley, for which he provides statistical tables. The same classification was used in the third report of the Pollution Committee of 1867, which gave the areas and populations of the proposed conservancy districts for 1801-1861, derived from the Census reports, with maps added; this report also contains a classification of the working population by trades.

In 1858 Baker returned to the subject of the industrial and sanitary economy of the borough in a paper read to the local meeting of the British Association. The Association, however, more concerned with the progress of science than the progress of Leeds, cut down his paper, and much valuable information would have been lost if the Statistical Society had not found room for the complete paper in its *Journal*.⁴⁴ Baker's main concern is with

⁴⁴ Vol. XXI (1858), pp. 427-43. Rather oddly in such a journal, Baker's figures are not impeccable, and should be checked.

economic and industrial questions, but after a brief, and valuable, summary of the borough and its constituent townships, he turned to population and housing. He found that, on a comparison with the figures for 1851, those for 1858 indicated a drop in the still high rate of mortality. Taking the Registration districts of the "town" only and grouping the wards, he gets :

	Acres	Inhabited Houses	Population	Population to Houses	Population to Acre	Deaths	Births	Year
North District (N. & N.E. Wards)	633	7392	35,755	4.8	56.4	1 in 24.7	1 in 26	1851
	633	8065	38,542	4.7	60.8	1 in 24.4	1 in 35	1858
South-East District (Kirkgate, S. & E. Wards)	812	5776	27,435	4.7	33	1 in 24.3	1 in 31.3	1851
	812	6610	29,219	4.7	35.8	1 in 26.9	1 in 36.6	1858
West District (Mill Hill, W. & N.W. Wards)	1226	7893	37,860	4.7	30.8	1 in 28.9	1 in 36.7	1851
	1226	9287	40,184	4.8	36.6	1 in 31.7	1 in 45	1858

Thus deaths decreased 25 per cent., 16 per cent. and 25 per cent. in these areas, and this he attributes to the sanitary improvements consequent upon the Local Improvement Act and Burial Act and perhaps also to compulsory vaccination, decrease of cellar dwellings, improvements in wages and working conditions, temperance societies, and cheap publications and educational facilities of many kinds. All this was very important for the working class population, which as only 18 per cent. of the houses exceeded £10 annual rent, he concluded formed the largest section of the community.

The high death rate continued, however, causing much anxiety to the town's authorities. In evidence before the Pollution Commission in 1867, Alderman Carter allowed that the town should be in a better sanitary condition, but confessed that the death rate had not grown less; it was better than at Liverpool, but worse than at Birmingham, which he could not understand, unless young people left Birmingham, for its birth rate was as high as that at Leeds but its death-rate lower. Dr. Chadwick roundly asserted now that the high rate of mortality was due to bad sanitation and not to trades, but that the rate was not so high if the birth-rate was taken into account, a statement which

has been considered already. Still, the rate was "this year" "upwards of 30," and the chairman contrasted the low rate in London, due, he thought, obviously to better sewage arrangements. Carter's evidence is so interesting that it is worth quoting in full: speaking of the death rate as obtained from the returns of the Registrar-General for the last nine months, he said:⁴⁵

"I think it is calculated higher than it really is, in consequence of the increase of population not being taken sufficiently into account. In 1861 the birth rate in all England was 35 per 1000. In London it was 35 per 1000, and in Leeds, which was increasing very rapidly at that time, it was 38 per 1000. In 1864, taking the population of 1861 as the basis in all these cases, the birth rate in England was 37 per 1000, and in London it was 37 per 1000, but in Leeds, in 1864, it had got up to 42 per 1000; it had gone up five above the average of the country and of London. The birth rates this year and the last are about the same. Taking the population of 1861 as the basis, the birth rate of all England last year and this (taking the average of the nine months of the present year) is 38; London is 38, London city is 17, the West Riding of Yorkshire is 42, Leeds is 44, Birmingham is 43 and Liverpool is 36, with a death-rate of 51, calculated on the same population. The Manchester birth-rate is 36, with a death-rate of 36, reckoned on the same principle. Sheffield has a birth-rate of 47, 11 upon 1000 above Manchester and Bristol 33. At Settle, which is purely an agricultural district in our neighbourhood, and is perhaps the best sample of the district, the birth-rate is 30 in 1000. But what is very remarkable in Leeds, and what, in my judgment, shows that there is an immense increase in the population is this—Leeds proper, the township of Leeds, is one district according to the Registrar's returns, Hunslet is an out district, Holbeck is another, and Kirkstall, which includes Burley, is another, and those three districts comprise that part of the borough of Leeds where there is the largest increase in the population. Now, the birth-rate in Leeds itself is 42 or 44, independently of those out-districts where the population is increasing at a very large rate. Holbeck, which is a separate district, has been divided from some other districts by the Registrar-General in order that he might know more particularly the death-rates there. The birth-rate in 1861 was 40 in 1000, in 1864 it was 44, in 1865, 46. In Kirkstall, which includes a very large population, and is in fact part of Leeds (Whitton's foundry is in Burley) in 1865, the birth-rate was 47, and in 1866 it was 49. If you take Hunslet, a place

⁴⁵ I, question 7112.

where there has been the largest increase in any part of the borough, the birth-rate in 1861 was 38, in 1863, 50, in 1864, 60, in 1865, 60, and in 1861 [sic., i.e. 1866] 61 in 1000. What I have said before is that the Registrar General is not giving us credit for the real amount of increase of population, especially in those out districts, and that if we reckon those births, and we say 38 births means 38 in 1000 people, then there will be in Leeds 139,000 as the population, and if we reckon 38 in those three out-townships, then we should have 125,000 of population instead of 90,000, as we are credited with in the Registrar's returns. I will put these figures in, having heard the evidence given by Dr. Chadwick on the point . . . In reference to the drainage districts of Leeds, of Hunslet and Holbeck since 1857, there have been 9025 additional ratings, showing that there has been an immense increase in the population."

Carter clearly based his remarks on the recently published enquiry of James Braithwaite into the "causes of the high death rate in Leeds" (1865).⁴⁶ Braithwaite considered that in spite of the recently instituted weekly returns, the relevant information was both insufficient and not adequately studied. Leeds was made to appear much more unhealthy than it really was, by taking as "Leeds" the township alone, whereas the registration district of Hunslet (or, the parts of the borough outside the township) should be added. A précis of this tract will perhaps be pardoned: it is of some value as displaying not only the contemporary outlook but the summary of a whole generation of discussion on the subject.

He limits his figures to the years 1855-62, the only reliable ones procurable, and compares Leeds (the borough) with other towns. Table I provides the deaths per 1,000 on an average of the eight years: England, 21.8; London, 23.02; Hunslet, 23.10; West Riding, 23.4; Leeds (borough), 25.2; Leeds (township), 26.7; and Liverpool, 32.31. This wholesale plan, he claims, is misleading: "a high or low total death rate depends chiefly upon the mortality amongst children." So in Table II, claiming that the ratio between the deaths of children and adults varies considerably in different places, he shows how in all England 451 per 1,000 of the total death rate represents mortality among children under ten, whilst in Leeds the figure was 523 in the township and 534 in the rest of the borough—on the same averages thus,

⁴⁶ See bibliography.

		Under 3	Under 10 per 1000
England ..	...	361	451
Leeds township ..	...	437	523
Leeds borough ..	...	439	526
Hunslet ..	...	442	534
Liverpool ..	...	432	537
Ripon ..	...	261	316

But again, this is a comparative not an actual death rate. Therefore Table III is given to show "the average annual death rate of children under ten per 1,000 persons living": England, 9.8; Ripon, 6.04; West Riding, 11.3; Hunslet, 12.33; Leeds (borough) 13.3; Leeds (township) 13.96; Liverpool, 17.35. Deducting from the total death rates, Table IV was obtained, giving the average annual death rate of persons over ten years: England, 12.0; Ripon, 13.09; West Riding, 12.1; Leeds (borough) 11.9; Leeds (township) 12.74; Hunslet, 10.77; Liverpool, 14.96.

Yet Table III was incorrect in that the relative number of children varied in different places; if the birth rate were the same in all, the result would be Table V. England, 8.5; Ripon, 5.7; West Riding, 7.9; Hunslet, 9.4; Leeds (borough) 10.5; Leeds (township) 11.0; Bradford, 11.4; Liverpool, 15.3. To show the chances of reaching old age, he provided Table VI, giving the deaths at ages above 65 per 1,000 persons: England, 353; Ripon, 477; Hunslet, 303; West Riding, 334; Leeds (borough) 275; Leeds (township) 254; Liverpool, 161. The proper way to judge of the sanitary state of a town, he thought, was to take the death rate among children and then the relative number who reached old age. Thus Leeds was not unhealthy when only the mortality among persons over ten was considered, but this, he added cautiously, was due to the healthiness of the "extra-urban parts of the borough"; and a much smaller number reached 65 in Leeds than in the rest of the West Riding, yet Leeds was higher than Bradford and other large towns. It was clear from Table III that there was a high total death rate from the number of children's deaths, Leeds being exceeded in relative numbers only by a few large towns; if it seemed worse than Bradford, that was because more children were born in Leeds relative to the total population, and Table V would show Leeds was really more healthy than Bradford. It was worthy of note, he thought, that child mortality was higher in the rest of the borough than in the township, probably due to defective drainage. In Table VII

statistics of mortality in the districts of Leeds are provided. Before passing to consider the causes of death, Braithwaite quotes the Registrar-General to the effect that 17 deaths in 1,000 are "natural" deaths; thus in Leeds 9.7 per 1,000 (or 116+) and in the rest of the borough 6.1 per 1,000 (or 622) were "artificial" or "unnecessary" deaths, yet it was unlikely, in Braithwaite's view, that the ideal of 17 would ever be reached.

He then proceeds to show the effect of the seasons on mortality and the separate classes of disease are considered. He concludes that mortality was at its maximum among children in summer and among adults in winter. Causes of death among persons above, and under, 3 are tabulated. The most fatal class of disease was that which had as chief cause exposure to cold— inflammation of the lungs, bronchitis and pleurisy; from a comparative table, Leeds emerges as one of the worst places from this point of view, possibly due to the soil. Consumption was the next most frequent cause of death, and from a mass of statistics with much detail about occupations, some surprising results emerge. He has much to say about fever, the death rate from which might appear small, but it had to be remembered that for one death from this source there were five recoveries; thus every child ran the risk of 1 in 4 that he would suffer from typhus fever, and 1 in 24 that he would die from it. There was no difference between town and country areas: bad drainage was no monopoly of either. But Braithwaite was not clear upon the cause: bad drainage might account for it, but other nuisances provided at least predisposing causes. His elaborate detail cannot be repeated at length here, and he follows up with scarlet fever, measles and smallpox, and these, he said, were not dependent on the seasons, but he pointed out how nearly every fatal disease had a predisposing cause in want of light and air.

"No one who will take the trouble to examine the state of the small courts and yards of the lower parts of this town can doubt that the dwellings of the numerous class which inhabits these places must be at the root of much of the excessive mortality. There are families living in cellars about as good as a gentleman's coal place, in which they eat, sleep, and wash. (The latter is, however, generally omitted as inconvenient). It is a common plan to have the out-buildings in front of the door, or a blank wall, or another house a few yards off, so that proper ventilation is prevented, and most of the light excluded.

There are houses so dark that it is difficult at first to distinguish objects in them, even on a bright sunny afternoon . . . I have questioned many of the tenants of these places, chiefly Irish; they complain of the places they are compelled to inhabit—some bitterly—but state that they cannot procure any better habitations. How can such people be morally and religiously raised, so long as one great cause of their demoralisation still remains in its full intensity? The wretched state of their houses, the desire for pleasure, when, at their own fireside, only misery is possible, must have much to do with the drunken and vicious habits of these people."

He pleaded for full publication of the facts and for the better acquaintance with them not merely by the few but by the community at large.

But it is time to give a proper death rate, as far as it can be ascertained. Griffith⁴⁷ supplies a table of such rate for five large towns, including figures for Leeds as follows :

1801	1811	1821	1831	1841
26.0	25.5	20.3	20.7	27.2

On comparison the Leeds rate does not fluctuate so violently as those of Manchester or Birmingham, for example, although it is still a fairly high rate for the earlier period, for the general average is

1801	1811	1821	1831	1841
22.8	22.06	20.20	20.69	34.8

These are "crude" rates and not impeccably accurate in their representation of the true state of affairs.

INFANT MORTALITY.

An infant mortality rate compiled on modern principles is hardly possible for this period : not only are the figures available those for baptisms and burials of the Established Church alone, and consequently do not represent the whole community, but even among the faithful they are not complete; all this, and more, has already been pointed out. In addition, the parish registers do not uniformly supply the age of death in any case, so that a rate calculated on the small figures which do happen to be supplied, rather late in the century, and with such reservations, would be rather misleading if not altogether negligible evidence. It is clear, however, from the evidence that is available, that a large proportion of the total deaths in the eighteenth century were those

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

of infants, that certain ailments always accounted for a large number of those deaths even at normal times, but that there were certain epidemic diseases to which infants were particularly susceptible.

From the better evidence for London mortality,⁴⁸ it has been shown how the waste of life was at its worst there between 1727 and 1750, largely owing to a great mortality among children: there are no comparable figures for Leeds, but it is fairly clear that up to 1770 (Mrs. George gives 1760 for London) the death-rate must have been a very serious check on natural growth. After that date, burials decrease in number and for London the decrease in the death-rate is attributable to the lowering of infant mortality: it was still very high. From 1730 to 1749 burials of children under five accounted for 74.5 per cent. of all children christened in London; from 1790 to 1809 the percentage had dropped to 41.3. There are a few indications in the Leeds registers which enable a fleeting glimpse to be obtained of like conditions here; in 1741, for example, 97 out of 472 burials registered at the Parish Church were those of children, and in 1746, a particularly evil year, 238 out of 480. There is more indirect evidence, to be considered later in a section devoted to causes of the death-rate, somewhat later in the century, derived from a sudden appearance in the registers of causes of death, which shows a large and regular proportion of diseases which are more particularly infantile.

From Table VII some account of the rate of infant mortality about the turn of the century may be derived. It is fortunate that for these years, 1795-1804, the chapelries' registers include age and cause of death in more regular fashion than heretofore. St. John's was a town chapel of ease at which fewer baptisms than burials were registered; Bramley and Beeston may be, and were, regarded as chiefly manufacturing, and Chapel-Allerton and Farnley as chiefly agricultural villages, all within the parish or borough, much as Lucas classified them in 1791. At St. John's the percentage of burials under five years is never less than 37 per cent.; in 1803 it rose to 56 per cent.; but on average it is about 40 per cent. There is a slightly higher average on a full total of St. John's and the five selected areas, and a survey of the whole period also reveals a remarkable difference in the rate:

⁴⁸ George and Griffith, *op. cit.*

Bramley and Beeston are almost identical in having a high rate, but Chapel-Allerton and Farnley show a halving of that rate. This result might naturally seem to lend countenance to the theory which blamed the influence of trades on mortality, for as regards density Beeston and Chapel-Allerton, for example, do not differ greatly in growth of population, but one was concerned with trade and the other was a residential area without manufactures. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, Chapel-Allerton, at any rate, had reversed its position, as has been seen above.

Sadler's great Committee (1832) was primarily concerned with children's labour in factories, and to support his verbal evidence he compiled summary comparative tables of "the duration of life," which included the "town of Leeds" and the "townships of Holbeck and Beeston" in the parish of Leeds. Burials were analysed for the years 1813 to 1830 and in showing Leeds and Holbeck to be the worst of the districts surveyed, he was confident he was helping to prove that

"about as many have died before their 20th year where the factory system extensively prevails, as before their 40th year elsewhere,"

adding however, that

"the effect of the increase of the population of a place by migration would be to diminish its general mortality."

Sadler's full tables cannot be quoted here, but in a summary table in which he reduced them to "decimal results" (his juggling with figures never pleased his critics) Leeds and Holbeck are compared with a "healthy county" Rutland, as follows:

		Under 20 years old	Under 40 years old	Lived to 40 and upwards
Leeds	...	6213	7441	2559
Holbeck	...	6113	7337	2663
Rutland	...	3756	5031	4969

In 1842, Baker, analysing the deaths recorded in 1840, drew attention to the seemingly "extraordinary" fact that they varied from 1 in 29 to 1 in 56 within a radius of ten miles. Rather more than one half of the deaths took place under five years old, as happened particularly in Lancashire, Yorkshire and Middlesex, a fact coincident with the increase in manufactories; for, as he added, this increase in infant mortality had taken place "apparently" since 1801 and had been greatest "last year"

and he pointed out that mills had grown in number from 1798 to 1840, the greatest number having been at work in 1836-7. He stressed the large employment of young women and children in these mills, wholly detrimental, in his view, to the health of themselves and their offspring; he was primarily concerned with the labouring class, and found, besides much epidemic disease due to bad drainage, a general prevalence of diseases of the respiratory organs in the town.

The influence of this large infant mortality on the general death-rate for Leeds has been mentioned. The high rate long continued: in the report of the Commission on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of 1844, it is shown, from extracts from the Quarterly Table of mortality issued by the Registrar-General in June 1843 that of 4,361 deaths in Leeds in 1841, 2,042 were those of children under five years of age, a proportion very close to that for Manchester but somewhat better than Sheffield's total and very much better than Liverpool's. Braithwaite's remarks, made in 1865, have already been mentioned.

CAUSES OF DEATH.

It is unfortunate that in Leeds, as elsewhere, the parish registers, which are almost the only sources of information, are seldom enlightening upon the age or cause of death, at least in the earlier half of the eighteenth century. From the 'sixties, however, fitful glimmerings begin to appear upon the general darkness, coincident with a revived interest in population problems and in the hospital treatment of disease. It has been seen that Lucas of Leeds pleaded for full information on these and other points to be added in the registers, a vain but not a new plea, for it had been made a hundred years before by a friend of his family, and more recently by Percival of Manchester, with whom Lucas and his friends had collaborated. During the lifetime of Dr. Johnson, it has been remarked, the learned physician gave way to the clinical physician, and a great wave of philanthropy swept through the land: so it was in Leeds, and linked inseparably with the establishment of the Leeds General Infirmary are the names of skilled physicians like Hey, Lucas, and others, ready to note facts derived from observation in their more scientific approach to problems of health and disease. From the

'sixties, then, a modest and temporary zeal for such information provides evidence as valuable as it is rare, first occurring in that very decade when England's death rate was at its worst. The result of an analysis of this evidence is bound to be most imperfect and to yield bare minima. Details of age and cause of death occur in both the parish church and the chapelries' registers, but not consistently and on more general points such as the state of cleanliness of the town and the ravages of epidemics, information is available from other sources in slender but valuable quantities.

i. Upon the general healthiness of Leeds in the earlier half of the century, it is possible that the goodness or badness of the seasons exercised no inconsiderable influence. Figures for burials fluctuate erratically in these years, so that in addition to a study of the more regular causes of death, some note must be taken of any abnormal increase as due most probably to epidemics, these epidemics themselves being in no small measure due to abnormal weather conditions.

In June 1717, records John Lucas,⁴⁹ a violent fever began in Leeds which lasted until after Christmas, " and took off abundance of people both young and old." There was an epidemic of small-pox in 1721-2 which was "more than usually mortal" in Leeds, as Nettleton⁵⁰ of Halifax noted when recording 189 deaths, or 23.8 per cent., in 792 cases. Three years of scarcity preceded " a plentiful and seasonable harvest " in 1729;⁵¹ in the registers, particularly for the chapelries, the year 1728-29 shows a bad record of mortality. There was such a keen frost by February 1740 that ice on the river was fifteen inches thick,⁵² and in December 1740 a great scarcity of provisions occurred;⁵³ 1740 was remembered more than half a century afterwards⁵⁴ as an *annus mirabilis* for the severity of its winter; it was accompanied by " dreadful " famine and sickness, due to scarce and spoilt provisions, and later followed by an abundant harvest. The chapelries show a bad period for 1740-1, by no means a good record for the winter of 1741-2, and then a good one for 1744. The harvests of

⁴⁹ Ms. commonplace book (Leeds Public Library), p. 74.

⁵⁰ *Philosophical Transactions*, XXXII, 51, or 'Abridged,' VI, 569.

⁵¹ Lucas, *op. cit.*

⁵² Thoresby Society, Publications, XX, 346.

⁵³ *ibid.*, XX, 349.

⁵⁴ *Leeds Intelligencer*, February 9 and March 23, 1795.

August 1741 and September 1743 are both noted in the parish church register as the most plentiful ever known.⁵⁵ Perhaps the worst record for the century is that for 1746; the summer was very dry;⁵⁶ but 1747 has a good record again.

ii. In the third quarter of the century, more detailed information becomes available for the period 1764-1770 in the parish church register. The chief regular causes of death are given as, first, consumption, and then fits, each accounting for more than fifteen per cent. of the total yearly deaths on a general average of the period; the information is naturally far from perfect, and if to these are added "wearing" a still greater percentage is obtained. "Fever" is also a regular entry, a cause severe enough but less deadly than the former two. The other main cause of death, however dreaded, was spasmodic—smallpox: it took away 43 in the first ten weeks of 1764, but only 9 in the rest of the year, 11 only in 1765, 30 in 1766 (spread evenly over the year), 63 in 1767 mostly in the summer, 46 evenly distributed over 1768, as 51 were in 1770; for 1769 there are only 10 entries and these for the winter months, but in the Bramley register 15 consecutive entries occur in October and November.

Before 1770 it is impossible to tell at what age deaths occurred, but by comparison with later periods, it should be evident that infants were victims in large numbers. For two earlier years, 1741 and 1746, it is possible to calculate that 97 out of 472 (in 1741) and 238 out of 480 burials (in 1746) were those of children, years of epidemics, the first mostly in summer and the latter in winter. Statistics for the country as a whole tend to show that most fatal cases of smallpox were under five years of age, and certainly in London 1746 was one of the worst years in the century for deaths from this cause.

iii. In the last quarter of the century the detailed evidence is at its best. Already Leeds had a none too good reputation for cleanliness, for in September 1768 a visitor⁵⁷ noted that it was a large and populous town, but "exceedingly dirty, ill-built and as badly paved." But the Leeds General Infirmary had begun

⁵⁵ Thoresby Society, Publications, XX, 351, 358.

⁵⁶ Mayhall, *Annals*.

⁵⁷ *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Verulam* (1906), p. 239.

its long and useful career in 1767.⁵⁸ Although that Infirmary rightly bears the word "General" as an integral part of its name, it was in fact too general, and Lucas,⁵⁹ noting that attempts to check contagious diseases were either neglected or discouraged, saw that further hospital treatment was needed and proposed a House of Reception for stopping the progress of febrile contagion. He rejected the common idea that the infection diffused itself through the air of a town and asserted that it was proved that contagion was more frequently spread by contact with a patient or infected apparel than by the morbid state of the air; but his plan, moved and rejected in 1779, had to wait a quarter of a century before it was adopted, after the struggle for it had been renewed.⁶⁰

Smallpox continued to take its periodic toll. Lucas averred that from an examination of those registers that gave the necessary particulars there could be no doubt that this disease killed off many children; but it is not so clear that, as Lucas also maintained, it was responsible for most deaths. Smallpox came in epidemic form and was perhaps a more sensationally evident cause of death, but it would appear that the ordinary causes—those monotonously recurring entries of fits, convulsions and the like—were more largely responsible for the high infant mortality. Yet if Lucas meant that smallpox was a disease particularly fatal to children, he was obviously right. In Leeds, the year 1804 (when the House of Recovery had at last begun its work) is a dividing point; it was noted then⁶¹ that the much reduced death rate from smallpox in that year was probably due to the introduction of "cowpox."

Such evidence as emerges from the parish registers shows that, naturally, deaths from this dread disease fluctuated in number from year to year and even from township to township. St. John's provides the longest period of evidence, which is less detailed for the out-townships, for the period from 1773. From this register it is clear, for example, that the second half of the

⁵⁸ Its 59th report (cf. *Leeds Intelligencer*, December 7, 1826) contains statistics for every five years for the period 1770-1825.

⁵⁹ In his 'Remarks . . .', *London Medical Journal*, X (1789), 260 ff.

⁶⁰ See some account of its origin in *Leeds Intelligencer*, January 20, 1831, in the report of a speech by Thorp who had played a leading part in its establishment.

⁶¹ *Leeds Guide*, 1808.

year 1773 was particularly bad, and the following years of that decade moderate, ending with a bad year again in 1781; in the 'eighties there is great fluctuation between good and bad—there are no deaths from smallpox at all in 1786 and 1789, yet in the latter year Beeston was much affected by it; in the 'nineties St. John's shows a steady mean of nearly twenty such deaths a year; in 1802 only two, but in 1803, thirty-six, and in 1804 it is free again.

More has been said on this topic in a section devoted to infant mortality, but Lucas printed evidence about two epidemics in Leeds in 1781 and 1789-90.⁶² For 1781 he compiled statistics (printed in appendix C) designed to prove the value of inoculation: in six months 130 died out of 462 attacked, whereas in the next six months only 4 died out of 385 inoculated (i.e. 381 recovered). Another general inoculation took place at some time before 1788, but Lucas noted that in 1789-90 smallpox was again prevalent in the district, without, however, being fatal. But in 1800 a most decisive step was taken in the fight against smallpox. R. W. D. Thorp had just been elected to the staff of the Infirmary in open competition, and whether by coincidence or not, within a very few months he is found to be a leading spirit in two great reforms: the introduction of vaccine treatment and the establishment of a separate fever hospital. A number of physicians and surgeons issued a public statement⁶³ on the "Vaccine or Cow Pox," and offered their services free to the poor. They quoted figures for deaths from smallpox in the autumn of 1800 and re-emphasised what Lucas had already said about the danger of the disease. The work soon bore fruit, after some hesitation and opposition, and deaths from this disease quickly diminished. Surely the long-forgotten date of this meeting of doctors, November 15, 1800, ought to be remembered as a major event in the annals of the city, a crucial point in the more silent Revolution, an unobserved because a more bloodless victory over an undiscriminating enemy.

Fever continued to take its heavy toll of life. In Lucas's proposal for a separate hospital already mentioned, he noted that 80 had died in one year alone from fever; this may have been in the preceding winter, for the *Leeds Mercury* of January 26, 1779, printed advice on how to deal with the "putrid fever." It was

⁶² *loc. cit.*, and *ibid.*, XI (1790), 328.

⁶³ See Appendix E.

the alarming epidemic which was rife in 1801-2 that led to the successful accomplishment of Lucas's project, and it was the initiative of Thorp that was largely responsible.⁶⁴ The registers continue to display the same frightful losses from regular causes of death as in the previous period, but even if the classifications are so amateurish as perhaps to be misleading, certain new causes now appear amongst the irregular entries with a greater frequency. Among these are measles and "chincough," and it has been found that in England as a whole there was a much higher mortality from measles in the latter half of the century than there had been in the earlier.⁶⁵ Lucas, writing in August 1790, recorded that some months before, "hooping cough" and measles had been very prevalent in Leeds but had not proved fatal; and a Leeds chemist, advertising his cure for this disease in August 1799, noted that it was then also very prevalent in Leeds.⁶⁶

iv. Early in the nineteenth century, lack of proper sanitary arrangements for the rapidly increasing population reaped its inevitable reward. Smallpox might now be temporarily banished without destroying the evil balance of nature, which re-asserted itself with a new and more formidable power in the shape of cholera; fevers did not and could not cease to take a large toll upon life; and it soon appeared that diseases of the respiratory system were increasing also. Expectation of life was low; besides the statistical results of patient investigation by physicians to prove this, there was the very practical refusal of workmen's benefit societies to accept as members any man over 35 except on special rates, and any men over 40 at all.⁶⁷ Weather conditions were obviously not the sole cause even of epidemic disease, although Baker noted in 1842,⁶⁸ for example, that in one period of "unprecedented heat" in Leeds deaths were as 3 to 2. But combined with sanitation, or lack of it, fearful results might follow exceptional weather conditions now that human herding had taken

⁶⁴ cf. the references above and below; also, *Loidis and Elmete*, p. 85; Creighton, II, 160.

⁶⁵ Creighton, II, chapter V.

⁶⁶ *London Medical Journal*, XI (1790), 328; *Leeds Intelligencer*, August 26, 1799.

⁶⁷ e.g. an advertisement (one of many) in *Leeds Intelligencer*, February 22, 1796, of a new benefit society 'The Philanthropic Society'

⁶⁸ *Sanitary Condition*, p. 39.

place on a large scale. The attention of those concerned for public health was forced upon two problems, those of proper sanitation and of the influence of trades upon health. The first reaction was to blame the trades, but gradually it was seen that civic cleanliness was the remedy. Leeds was not swift to remedy the defect; it tarried and counted the cost—but disease would not wait: it must be confessed, however, that the Corporation was much hampered in its powers.

Thackrah's book, already referred to, first came out in 1831 and was quickly followed by a second edition in the following year.⁶⁹ It undoubtedly had great influence, more immediately on Oastler⁷⁰ and then on Sadler,⁷¹ and was not soon forgotten, but in time less emphasis came to be placed on the harmful influence of trades and more on bad sanitation. Thackrah had shown clearly however that as an indirect influence on mortality, as a predisposing cause, conditions of factory life were a factor of the first importance. His conclusions did not go unchallenged at the time, and reports from rival physicians were procured by those opposed to Sadler to counter-balance his attack; into that particular controversy, or later ones, it is not proposed to enter here.⁷² Thackrah stated that hardly ten per cent. of the Leeds population enjoyed full health; that it was not so much the polluted atmosphere as the herding of people together that was to blame; that lack of ventilation and muscular exercise were evil influences; that children worked excessive hours; and that, among a number of other baleful influences, many of the ills of "young ladies" were "unnatural." He had much to say on wages, the great disproportion of which was a major evil (if high they led to drunkenness and improvidence, if low to inadequate nourishment), on accidents, intemperance, cleanliness (very imperfect) and so forth. He saw that the fault did not lie so much with the individual manufacturers as with the system, and only

⁶⁹ See bibliography. There is a convenient summary in Parsons, *History*, II, 238 ff. It is highly praised by Sir John Simon in his classic *English Sanitary Institutions* (2nd ed., 1897, p. 125).

⁷⁰ On Oastler, see Cecil Driver, *Tory Radical, the Life of Richard Oastler* (1946), p. 73 ff. Driver goes so far as to call the book "a bible among the factory reformers."

⁷¹ On Sadler, see Factory Commission report (1832); Sadler was in the chair on July 18, 1832, when Thackrah gave evidence.

⁷² Controversy among local doctors and manufacturers, see *Leeds Mercury*, January, 1833, apropos of the Factory Bill.

legislative interference could correct it: this was naturally what Sadler wanted, but it must be admitted, the better part of the manufacturers had come to that conclusion already.

Ure, it has been seen, preached the blessings of the factory system and held the case against it not proved. The Report of 1839 had something to say, but Baker in 1842 continued the attack on trades in that part of his statement which analysed those trades in relation to longevity.⁷³ Baker arranged them in order of healthiness, first according to a general scheme which descended from persons of independent means to those in sedentary occupations (the most fatal), and then by actual trades from gardeners downwards—a most interesting scheme which showed incidentally the curious conclusion that sedentary occupations and flax mills were fatal to longevity. In general, however, there was a vast difference between persons of independent means and those occupied in "trades." By 1867 Chadwick could affirm that the high rate of mortality in Leeds was "not materially" due to trades; indeed in the course of his examination, agreement seemed to be reached with the chairman that it was neither climate, nor soil, nor atmosphere externally that created excessive disease, but something "within the four walls of the dwelling." And a later witness, Carter, blamed bad property and overcrowding for producing disease and fever as well as pauperism.⁷⁴

The Leeds General Infirmary struggled on, suffering from chronic lack of adequate funds but enlisting much support from personal benefactors and from church congregations of all denominations, not to mention other curious sources, not in Leeds only but farther afield in the West Riding.⁷⁵ It was private charity that answered the ceaseless appeals for support and sustained this and other local hospitals in their work; for by now a realisation of the inadequacy of the old Infirmary to deal with all who needed its ministrations stimulated the establishment of other institutions, not as rivals in good works but as supplementary and more specialised charities. Thus an Eye and Ear Hospital⁷⁶

⁷³ *Sanitary Condition.*

⁷⁴ *Pollution Commission (Aire and Calder)*, I, questions 6669, 7000 ff.

⁷⁵ The 59th report of the Infirmary (cf. *Leeds Intelligencer*, December 7, 1826) contained statistics for every five years for the period 1770-1825.

⁷⁶ Little is known of the Eye and Ear Hospital, but monthly statistics were published for it and the Dispensary in the papers (e.g. *Leeds Intelligencer*, 1830, generally in the first week of the month).

was established in 1822, and, almost simultaneously in 1824 both a Lying-in Hospital and a Dispensary.⁷⁷ But perhaps the main concern of the physicians as yet was with fever. The House of Recovery has been mentioned. It was Thorp, who, after a personal visit to the infected area during the grievous epidemic of 1801-2, secured public support for its establishment; he had a gruesome story to tell—of whole families of eight, nine, and ten, afflicted at the same time—of neighbours unwilling to help for fear of catching the infection—of his own colleague in the visitation falling a victim to the disease. In 1831 he appealed for funds;⁷⁸ then, he could point to the fact that whereas in April 1802 alone there were 391 cases of fever, in the whole of 1830 there had been 313 in the whole town and neighbourhood; naturally the costs of maintaining the House had much increased. In 1819 and 1820 Adam Hunter published a survey of cases treated there and showed that the period 1815-1818 had been particularly bad.⁷⁹

William Hey junior gave an account of a puerperal fever epidemic in Leeds from 1809 to 1812, but noted that there had also been a more partial epidemic two years earlier, confined chiefly to the poor, less severe, less fatal in its results and of shorter duration. The epidemic of 1809-12 was not continuous, for there was a long intermission between the autumn of 1811 and the summer of 1812, nor was it peculiar to Leeds; he had found nothing worthy of special comment about weather conditions or any causes peculiarly local and commented that if there was no other epidemic worthy of the name at the time, Leeds never wanted cases of infectious fevers. His general remarks, too brief as they are, were incidental to his main purpose of the study of particular cases in order to prove his own theory and practice. It was unfortunately only too true, and it was proved by dire experience for many years, that the town never lacked fevers; there is evidence not only in the reports on the great cholera

⁷⁷ On the establishment of the Lying-In Hospital, *Leeds Intelligencer*, March 3, May 6, June 3, 1824; and of the Dispensary, *ibid.*, April 29, and especially June 17 and July 1, 1824.

⁷⁸ A report of Thorp's speech, January, 1831, is given in *Leeds Intelligencer* of January 20, 1831.

⁷⁹ *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, April, 1819, and April, 1820, quoted by Creighton, II, 164, 171, 180. The *Leeds Intelligencer* of January 17, 1814, contains an advertisement of eight years' work of the House.

epidemic of 1832 about to be mentioned, but in similar reports of later epidemics and especially in the commissions on sanitation and pollution.

The cholera epidemic of 1832 had been preceded in Leeds by one in 1825. In that year there had been a few cases in the early summer, but the disease was not rife until August, when it prevailed extensively in the town but was less severe in the surrounding parts, a situation which was reversed in September, the attack not subsiding till December. C. T. Thackrah⁸⁰ and his pupils made a survey of selected areas of Leeds : Moortown, Kirkstall, Leeds and Halton, "contrasted in situation or salubrity" which he proceeds to describe in detail. He prepared detailed statistics to make his somewhat peculiar results more clear, for he claimed that cholera was more prevalent in the country than in the town, that lofty woodless areas were more subject to it than plains and valleys, and that it attacked chiefly the poor and debilitated. He thought the impurity of the atmosphere of a town might prevent its dwellers from enjoying robust health but it shielded them from the violence of epidemics ; yet in referring cholera to "atmospheric influence" he suspected, but did not assert, that it might be infectious. He had observations to make on dysentery also.

In 1833 there appeared a *Report*⁸¹ on the disastrous epidemic of 1832 as it affected Leeds, which contained, besides a general report and observations and recommendations, a mass of detailed statistics of every kind relevant to the matter under discussion—schedule of streets with comments and figures, meteorological table, bill of mortality from the parish registers, summary of cases and much more. Even so it was but a "condensed" report, too long to be quoted here, but it deserves mention as an important document in the history of Leeds ; nominally the findings of the Leeds Board of Health, it was in fact compiled by Robert Baker. He had begun his long campaign for the better sanitation of the town and this was evidence, to those who could read, that a man of great determination had far outstripped all amateur dabblers in sociology. He was hardly ever allowed to speak at length (the Statistical Report of 1839 is his, but it is

⁸⁰ *Cholera . . .* (1832), see bibliography.

⁸¹ See bibliography, *Leeds Board of Health*. The local newspapers naturally make the cholera a staple item of news.

admittedly abbreviated, and the British Association of 1858 cut down his paper on the state of Leeds) but the reader is never in doubt about the state of his mind on the state of Leeds.

His papers⁸² are concerned with general problems of public health, always stimulating but only relevant here in so far as within his wide scope he found room for comment on specific diseases. He found, for example, that along the track of uncleansed and unpaved streets where the labouring population dwelt, epidemic disease took its way unchallenged, cholera and fever following almost identical paths; he provided statistics and a coloured map in support of his contention that the death rate became halved in better cleansed districts. He was specially concerned with the fate of the labouring classes and in Chadwick's Report showed, how, from an analysis of Benefit Societies' returns, the average age at death was not higher than 37 among that class, whereas among the gentry and professional men it was 44. He discovered, too, that there was a general prevalence of diseases of the respiratory organs in the town, besides the particular prevalence of epidemic diseases wherever drainage was bad.

The remedy, clearly seen by Baker, an adequate sewerage system, was at long last perceived and undertaken by the corporation, but this topic is of too great importance to be dismissed summarily, and in default of adequate treatment now, reference may be made to the full evidence in the reports of the expert witnesses; J. W. Leather in 1845 arbitrated between the rival schemes of Captain Vetch, a prominent sanitary engineer, and Walker, town's engineer for Leeds; Vetch was examined before the Commission on the State of Large Towns; but there is much evidence also by these and other witnesses in that and other Commissions' Reports, and the work of Baker (and, naturally, of Chadwick) is of prime importance. The Commission on the State of Large Towns, indeed, was largely concerned in its first report with the causes of disease and their remedies.

IMMIGRATION.

Early in the Industrial Revolution, Dr. Price had vaguely seen that towns, or industry, were growing at the expense of the country, and certainly London's growth in population was main-

⁸² References in the bibliography.

tained, in spite of its high death rate, only by constant immigration. In Leeds, as in other growing towns, it is clear that the "natural increase" does not account for a rapid growth. The action of the Law of Settlement upon migration has been disputed: the amended law of 1795 allowed labouring people to settle, if not gain a settlement, in towns whence they were not to be removed until they became chargeable to the parish. This, it is claimed, encouraged the better type of worker to migrate to the towns, where wages were better than in the country; if such a one had no actual settlement, he would be more anxious to work and keep himself off the parish, whereas he would languish in a village, even if he had a settlement, upon a mere subsistence. But it is also asserted that this state of affairs was reversed after 1815, villagers now preferring to remain where they had a certainty of maintenance rather than an uncertainty of high wages and work, an unfortunate coincidence with a period (1811-1831) of decreasing agricultural employment.⁸³

There were constant contemporary laments at this drift to the towns. The topic is perhaps too long and not very appropriate to discuss at length here; one specimen from a leader in the *Leeds Intelligencer*⁸⁴ must suffice—"The peasant left the healthful labour of the field for the noxious atmosphere of the crowded towns, the ceaseless din of machinery, and the highways of the artizan . . ." This was in 1829, a time of great national ills. It is certain that many less desirable immigrants were attracted to Leeds after the Napoleonic wars. The unfortunate Irish settlers did not apparently arrive until the 'twenties, but if no asset to the health and beauty of the town, they were at least prepared to work and their labours were indeed found indispensable for the most unattractive jobs. They were preceded by an influx of able-bodied men who were not prepared to work if they could help it, and in 1818 measures to deal with these vagrants seemingly attracted here as to other large towns in alarming numbers, especially in times of distress, led to the establishment of a Vagrant Office;⁸⁵ but in 1827 the nuisance they created had not subsided and a call for renewed action against them was made, when it was asserted that they were not "needy" but "sturdy."

⁸³ Cf. George, *London Life*, chap. III, p. 151, quoting Playfair's comment on *The Wealth of Nations* (1805).

⁸⁴ May 7, 1829.

⁸⁵ *Leeds Intelligencer*, November 30, 1818, March 22, 1827.

There were always many poor in Leeds and the town was far from unique in this respect. An important influence on the health of the population of the town must therefore have been the periodic crises in trade which were accompanied by harrowing stories of privation among the labouring poor, only too true, on the evidence, in the earlier half of the nineteenth century. The Poor Rate⁸⁶ was always with the ratepayers, of course, but the chief remedy was private benevolence, mostly sporadic as the occasion arose, but helped by more permanent organisations like the Benefit Societies and especially the Strangers' Friend Society.⁸⁷ Soup kitchens were not unacceptable as long as it was felt that poverty was an inevitable accompaniment both of the factory system and the law of nature; but gradually, and especially when strikes of workmen occurred on a large scale, it dawned upon the poor that the remedy was not so much private benevolence, however well meant, as political reform. But that is another story; in part, however, it concerns emigration.

It was the Industrial Revolution that created this problem of the poor who were both deserving and undeserving, to adopt a contemporary classification. Another Revolution brought a small number of better-class immigrants. Leeds had responded well to appeals for subscriptions to aid the French emigrant clergy and in 1798 the Alien Act was enforced in the borough, but numbers are elusive; the Act, however, coincides with the appearance in the local papers of advertisements of teachers of French, dancing and other accomplishments, with names like Beaufils.

During the period of the wars, too, there were always soldiers to be counted as voluntary or involuntary immigrants, and, with sailors, as emigrants, temporarily or permanently. There were others of this floating military population in time of peace also, Leeds being a garrison town, and allowances were made for them in contemporary estimates of population,⁸⁸ like Howlett's and in Census reports. But in sum minor classes of temporary residents can have made little difference to the total of a population growing rapidly and permanently as at Leeds. The semi-resident

⁸⁶ Workhouse statistics of relief from 1819 to 1827 in the *Leeds Intelligencer*, May 3, 1827.

⁸⁷ The Society dated from 1790 and was a Methodist foundation, but it soon claimed that it was managed by an inter-denominational committee.

⁸⁸ e.g. Howlett, p. 149, calculation of militia men to the total population, giving 45 for Leeds out of 17,121.

clergy were a mere handful, and as it was customary for men of business to reside on the premises, the modern problems of the daily exodus to the countryside and the dual vote did not arise, at least till after 1832.

The Census report for 1841 first gave indubitable evidence of the place of origin of the population in the various districts enumerated, and this classification will be mentioned presently, but, surveying the Census for 1851, Sir John Clapham⁸⁹ could assert that Leeds was one of the large towns with the greatest proportion of native inhabitants.

The immigrants seem to have come to Leeds in various waves and from different directions. The earliest quota would perhaps naturally come from the surrounding districts. Eden in 1797 noted that it was not possible to give estimates of removals, but they occurred "frequently" and "certificates" were never granted in Leeds.⁹⁰ The great inrush from more distant parts, at any rate of adults, does not appear to have taken place until the 'twenties of the nineteenth century. In 1796 the West Riding magistrates⁹¹ resolved not to allow parish apprentices in the townships to be sent to cotton mills or places where long hours were worked or night labour permitted, nor again to allow their binding out to masters resident in parishes other than where the children originally belonged, unless "under particular circumstances and in special cases." This may have had the effect of retaining pauper children for local industry; if others were required they had to be sought elsewhere. In 1832, William Osburn in evidence before Sadler's Commission said he understood that the great number of "hands" in the mills near Leeds were not natives of the district but were got from London. And writing in the present century, Robert Collyer⁹² told how his father had been taken as a child from an "asylum" at Norwich to work in the linen factory of Colbeck and Ellis at Fewston near Leeds; this would presumably occur about the year 1807.

The largest and least tractable body of immigrants came from Ireland. The comprehensive report of 1839 revealed the presence

⁸⁹ *Economic History of Modern Britain*, I (1926), p. 537.

⁹⁰ For a full discussion of this problem of certificates see J. L. Hammond, *The Village Labourer* (1911) p. 114 ff.

⁹¹ *Leeds Intelligencer*, October 3, 1796, an advertisement repeated from time to time during the next few years.

⁹² *Some Memories* (Boston, 1911?), chap. I.

of 996 Irish immigrant families (and 70 others), a total confirmed by the Census of 1841, which allotted 2,564 males and 2,463 females to Ireland as their "country of birth," by far the largest section of non-English inhabitants in the town—and actually one-third of all the Irish in the whole West Riding at the time. Their concentration was more impressive than their total: they chiefly resided in the North, North-East and East wards, added the 1839 report, and were chiefly engaged in handloom weaving. They were an industrial community to which the town was indebted, the report commenting that there could be little doubt that the indigenous population would have been insufficient for the variety of manufactures in the town. The Irish had already made themselves heard, especially in political movements, if names like Patrick Rearden mean anything, and they were not unnaturally radicals. In January 1830⁹³ it was reported that an influx of Irish paupers was causing embarrassment in the prevailing distress; and next month the rumour went round that the Irish were being better treated in the matter of relief, whereupon four investigators made a report which showed that at the "Bank" they found 212 Irish families out of 645 were destitute. In a statement at the conclusion of three months' work, the Treasurer of the Leeds subscriptions for the relief of the poor in distress stated that of the families relieved 2,027 had been English and 526 Irish.⁹⁴

If the 1839 report referred to the moral and physical condition of the Leeds Irish community, it was incidentally and not by name: it noted, for example, the very low wages of the weavers. But later investigators were more explicit. Baker, reporting on the condition of the residences of the labouring classes at Leeds in 1842, had a great deal to say about the Irish: he painted a lurid picture of their misery and degradation and was much concerned with evidence about their wages—but these themes are beyond our present scope. He said that they were almost exclusively limited to plaid weavers, flax-spinners and bricklayers' labourers.

"In the houses of the Irish poor, of which there are a great many in Leeds, who work in factories and are engaged in weaving by hand plaids and other stuff goods, there

⁹³ *Leeds Intelligencer*, January 7, 1830.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, April 1, 1830.

is a general state of desolation and misery . . . They are mainly employed in plaid-weaving and bobbin-winding, and in some of the mills of the town, of whose population they compose no inconsiderable amount, especially in those departments of mill-labour which are obnoxious to English constitutions and to some unendurable. To such an extent, indeed, has the employment of the Irish been carried in Leeds, that, in 1835 and 1836, many of the flax-mills would have been obliged to stand for want of hands, but for the influx of Irish labourers which then took place."

There is a further reference to them in the Third report of the Commission on River Pollution (1867).⁹⁵ Charles Chadwick answering a question which referred to a statement of a previous witness about the influx of the Irish within a few years said

"We always have a large portion of Irish—and they supplied a great number of fever patients—and although he could not agree with the claim at Wakefield that the increase in the death rate there was due to Irish immigrants, he had always found diseases of a febrile kind very prevalent among them, and they crowded together much more than the English did."

Another witness, Alderman Carter, observed in his comments on unhealthy occupations that the Irish were mostly young people engaged in the flax trade, living in the worst parts of the town, and most liable to disease—English girls were going into other trades.

The Census for 1841 provided figures for other immigrants than the Irish: 8,217 from other counties, 884 from Scotland and about 300 foreigners and 477 persons of unspecified origin. Baker, analysing these in 1842, observed that whereas the Irish were almost exclusively employed in plaid weaving, flax-spinning and as bricklayers' labourers, the Scotch were scattered through every branch of occupation; as for the "foreigners," they were wool merchants or agents having commissions on manufacture, and some Italian dealers in artware. Of those not born in the county, he added, many mixed in both in- and out-door handicrafts, but most of them appeared to be in domestic service. Certain "southern migrants located in Yorkshire," he mentions incidentally, suffered heavily from smallpox in 1836-7, possibly affected by the chemical changes in the atmosphere attributed to smoke, but the exact figures for Leeds were under investigation. In 1867, Alderman Carter, not

⁹⁵ Also in Braithwaite (1865) *ut sup.*

perhaps looking back so far as he imagined, thought that Leeds had increased more largely than most boroughs in England since 1800, and the increase here had not come so much from additions to the native population, he thought, as by an influx from other districts, especially of young people, to supply the large iron-works established during the past ten or fifteen years.

Emigration from Leeds is a more elusive topic, awaiting further investigation. It was but natural that some should seek a better land when periods of economic crisis occurred, as in 1774, when, as the *Mercury* commented,⁹⁶ scarce a week passed without "some setting off from this part of Yorkshire for the Plantations" on account of bad trade and the high cost of living; among these emigrants were not only "joiners, butchers" and the like but some "of considerable property." Emigration as a remedy for distress in England was much argued about the time of the Reform Bill. Many left their homes for various parts of the Empire and the United States and many more would have gone if they had been able. In the distress of 1829-30 emigrations were such that the *Intelligencer*⁹⁷ described them as a "tide," which, it added on May 6, 1830, was "still unabated;" the "Canadas" were the main objective and there were distressing scenes at Hull, where Cobbett reported 7,000 as gone or going. The hungry 'forties are another story. A tiny colony from Leeds, about which little is known, attempted a settlement in Natal in 1849, but other folk left for Canada and the United States again.⁹⁸

A few gentlemen departed westwards over the sea *sponte sua*, but not *sine monitu*, at the time of the great political crisis

⁹⁶ *Leeds Mercury*, May 17, 1774 (Thoresby Society, XXXVIII, 124).

⁹⁷ *Leeds Intelligencer*, May 6, 1830. On April 29 it quoted a letter from Cobbett (April 17, at Hull) characteristically advising Wilmot Horton not to worry himself about the cost of getting rid of the 'industrious' people, as these were going of their own accord and at their own expense. The *Monthly Magazine* of 1830 (N.S., IX, 605) in its Yorkshire news mentions fifteen ships ready at Hull to take various families (fifty or sixty from the Wolds) principally to Quebec.

⁹⁸ Professor Hattersley is investigating the Natal colony and its Leeds promoters. The ms. minute book of South Parade Baptist Church, Leeds, records the 'dismissals' of members sailing for the United States (10), Canada (6) and Australia (2) between June, 1847, and June, 1852, for example. The *Leeds Mercury* for June 1, 1833, printed a letter from a former 'respectable operative' in Leeds which gave an account of his emigration to 'Van Dieman's Land,' whose praises Marshall junior had sung (mocked by a rhyming opponent) in the election campaign of 1832. See Thoresby Society, Vol. XLI, p. 68.

immediately following the peace of 1815, a temporary exile merely of reformers similar to and exactly contemporary with Cobbett.⁹⁹ Crime kept pace with growth in population and some sentences of transportation created a number of involuntary emigrations. In the newspapers there occur constant advertisements for absconding apprentices, runaway husbands, eloping wives and slippery criminals of all sorts, but in sum, the total of such erring individuals can have been but small. The majority of the poor seem to have clung desperately to their homes, or hovels.

Naturally there are other factors influencing problems of population, such as wages, housing, and the like, which deserve and must receive more than casual mention, aspects of the history of Leeds during this period for which adequate treatment must be postponed. All that has been attempted here, at some length it must be admitted, but in by no means an exhaustive manner, has been to account for the quantitative totals of the population and to mention some of the incidental factors affecting those totals.

⁹⁹ *Leeds Intelligencer*, May 5, 12, November 24, December 1, 8, 1817; and August 3, 1818 (the return of the natives). For an emigration movement at Leeds in 1819-20, see *Monthly Mag.*, XLVII (1819), 473; XLVIII (1819), 89; and, XLIX (1820), 479; *New Monthly Magazine*, XII (1819), 254.

APPENDIX A.

TABLE I

SUMMARY TABLE, 1771-1831.

	1771 (Priestley)	1775 (Price & Wales)	1801 Census	1811 Census	1821 Census	1831 Census
Leeds Township :						
Divisions—						
Upper			3553	3243	3208	3262
Middle & Kirkgate			3803	4212	4769	4927
Mill Hill			2676	2636	3031	3031
North-East—						
Upper			8547	4425	6518	9619
Lower				6354	9194	14,402
North-West						
Upper			4058	5710	4877	7602
Lower					3804	9797
East			5124	5580	7701	12,413
South			2907	3791	5501	6549
Total	16,380	17,121	30,669	35,951	48,603	71,602
Out-Townships :						
		(Wales & Lucas)	Census	Census	Census	Census
Armley		1715	2695	2941	4273	5159
Beeston		862	1427	[1538]	1670	2128
Bramley		1378	2562	3484	4921	7039
Chapel-Allerton		[1352]	1054	1362	1678	1934
Farnley		540	943	1164	1332	1591
Headingley		667	1313	1670	2154	3849
Holbeck		2045 [2055]	4196	5124	7151	11,210
Hunslet		3367 [3825]	5799	6393	8171	12,074
Potter-Newton		—	509	571	664	863
Wortley		894	1995	2336	3179	5944
Total	—	12,820	22,493	26,583	35,193	51,791
	or	13,288				
GRAND TOTAL	...	29,941	53,162	62,534	83,796	123,393
	or	30,609				

NOTES :

1. The total for the Leeds Township for 1775 is sometimes given as 17,117.
2. The populations of the out-townships for 1775 are those given by Wales, except for Chapel-Allerton, which he curiously omits; figures for six are clearly to be deduced from Table II (p. 53) of James Lucas, *An Impartial Inquiry into the Present State of Parochial Registers* (Leeds, 1791) who selected three as specimens of "manufacturing" and three as "agricultural" villages within the same parish, which, though not named, is clearly Leeds. These six places can be identified not only by a comparison of the baptisms and burials he gives with those in the printed parish registers, but with the totals of families as given by Wales; they are Hunslet (3825), Holbeck (2055), Bramley (1378), Farnley (540), Chapel-Allerton (1352) and Headingley (667), the first three being the "manufacturing" villages. Some of the totals agree with those of Wales, others not, notably Hunslet, where Lucas allows 143 more families. Lucas dates his list 1776, and, it can hardly be disputed, includes Potter-Newton with Chapel-Allerton. He may,

perhaps inadvertently, have given a total for Hunslet more correct at the time (1791) of writing, for in an advertisement for a schoolmaster at Hunslet Town School (*Leeds Intelligencer*, January 19, 1795) the township is described as "within one mile of Leeds" and as a large and prosperous village of "more than 4000 inhabitants."

3. A solitary figure for Farnley (773) in 1792 is given in the Census for 1801.
4. In 1797, Eden, *State of the Poor*, p. 847, gave a rough estimate of 31,500, based on a multiplication of 7000 families by an allowance of four and a half persons to a family.
5. The total for Beeston in 1811 is collected here from the various subdivisions recorded in the Census for 1811, as follows: New Hall, 33; Beeston, 894; Beeston Shaw, 168; Parkside, 154; Royds, 270; Snickells, 13; Cottingley Hall, 6. See a note in the 1821 Census.
6. The Leeds North-East Division is first divided in 1811 and the North-West in 1821. On the various divisions and townships of Leeds, Wardell's *Municipal History* may be consulted.

TOTALS, 1841-1871

	1841	1851	1861	1871
Present limits	... 152, 054	172, 023	206,881	258,817
Same limits as 1801-31	151, 874			

RATES OF INCREASE (on previous Census returns) per cent.

1801-11, 17·6	1821, 34·0	1831, 47·2	1841, 23·2,
	1851, 11·7	1861, 16·8	1871, 20·0.

SOME COMPARISONS

Parish Register Entries :

1811-20	Baptisms	Burials	Marriages
Leeds ...	22,905	15,344	7,445
West Riding	215,061	122,981	62,062
1831	Families	People	
Leeds ...	26,272	123,393	
West Riding	198,646	976,350	
1831	Area—Acres		
Leeds, 21,450		West Riding, 1,629,890	

OTHER SELECTED TOWNS

	1811	1821	1831
Sheffield ...	53,231	65,275	91,962
Halifax ...	19,217	25,829	34,437
Bradford ...	16,012	26,309	98,611
Huddersfield ...	9,671	13,284	19,035

INCREASES PER CENT.

(Alison, *Principles of Population* (1840), I, 566-7)

	1801-11	1811-21	1821-31
West Riding [Manufacturing county]	16	22	22
North Riding [Rural county]	...	7	11
Great Britain as a whole :			
Agricultural counties	9	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	7
Manufacturing counties	16 $\frac{3}{4}$	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	18

(i.e., according to Alison, the rate of manufacturing counties in general is double that of rural counties.)

TABLE II

Year	Leeds Parish Church	Chapels	Total	L.P.C. &	Chapels
				St. John's	less St. John's
(Upper column, Baptisms; Lower column, Burials)					
1734/5	369	251	620	386	234
	305	250	555	371	184
1735/6	297	250	547	316	231
	290	225	415	337	178
1736/7	292	254	546	303	243
	253	248	500	312	188
1737/8	343	274	617	361	256
	377	239	616	444	172
1738/9	340	273	613	352	261
	251	228	479	321	158
1739/40	349	309	658	360	298
	302	273	575	365	210
1740/1	303	279	582 ¹	316	266
	322	335	657 ¹	383	274
1741/2	307	233	540	316	224
	472	344	816	551	265
1742/3	313	250	563	328	235
	361	294	655	429	226
1743/4	340	291	631	353	278
	266	225	491	323	168
1744/5	386	277	663	403	260
	220	179	399	268	131
1745/6	354	283	637	366	271
	357	280	637	446	191
1746/7	331	249	580	345	235
	480	488	968	593	385
1747/8	409	328	737	424	313
	255	200	455	316	139
1748/9	373	227 ² [286]	600 ² [659]	385	215 ² [274]
	268	228 ² [268]	496 ² [536]	353	143 ² [183]
1749/50	380	339 ²	719 ²	421	298 ²
	391	292 ² [332]	683 ² [723]	510	173 ² [213]
1750/1	416	347	763 ³	464	299
	252	202	554 ³	338	216
1751	299 ⁴	264	563	320	243
(9 months)	190 ⁴	219	409	254	155
1752	397	295	692	416	276
(12 months)	302	303	605	404	201

¹ Figures given in the Census of 1801 are respectively 573 and 582; if moved back one in the list, they agree, which suggests a possible curious misreading.

² Figures incomplete, as the entries for Armley are wanting (baptisms and burials for 1748, burials for 1749): on an average for the decade, the missing figures would be about 59 baptisms and (omitting the particularly fatal year 1746) 40 burials. The figures in brackets, therefore, represent figures so adjusted.

³ Figures given in the Census of 1801 are 770 and 541.

⁴ For the full year (overlapping with 1750/1) as given in the Parish Church register, the figures are 394 baptisms and 273 burials. For use in obtaining averages, two sets of calculations are obviously needed, so as to provide an accurate comparison for the preceding and succeeding decades; for the first, 1750 has been treated as ending on March 25th, 1751, while for the second, the overlapping period, January 1 to March 25, 1751, has been included in 1751.

TABLE II—*Cont.*

Year	Leeds Parish Church	Chapels		Total	L.P.C. & St. John's	Chapels less St. John's
		(Upper column, Baptisms;	Lower column, Burials)			
1753	...	441	335	776	412	314
		328	400	728	334	294
1754	...	445	307	752	464	288
		315	315	630	381	249
1755	...	422	352	774	440	336
		422	302	724	532	192
1756	...	415	290 ⁵	705 ⁵	430 ⁵	275
		446	357 ⁶	773 ⁶	518 ⁶	255
1757	...	400	328	728	413	315
		325	268	593	396	197
1758	...	382	351	733	402	331
		376	396	772	471	301
1759	...	454	315	769	464	305
		332	364	696	423	273
1760	...	462	363	825 ⁷	472	362
		389	330	719 ⁷	483	236
1761	...	416	366	782	429	353
		316	413	729	405	324
1762	...	427	244	771	442	329
		368	416	784	465	319
1763	...	436	333	769	452	317
		492	408	900	615	285
1764	...	466	365	831	473 ⁸	358
		339	369	708	418 ⁸	290
1765	...	498	349	847	508	339
		349	351	700	441	259
1766	...	491	335	826	499	327
		394	462	856	499	357
1767	...	467	334	801	483	318
		518	375	893	623	260
1768	...	468	349	817 ⁹	482	335
		445	355	800	541	259
1769	...	546	359	905	558	347
		340	394	734	458	276
1770	...	538	315	853 ¹⁰	553 ¹¹	300
		446	481	927 ¹⁰	567	360
1771	...	590	404	994	612	382
		394	372	766	508	258

⁵ Baptismal entries for six months only at St. John's: these would be few in number.

⁶ Burial entries for nine months only at St. John's: on a decennial average the additional three months would yield about 22.

⁷ Figures given in the Census of 1801 are respectively 835 and 688.

⁸ From this date until 1793, totals are given by Wood (Aikin) which include figures for dissenters. See separate table.

⁹ From 1768 to 1778 figures are available from the *Leeds Mercury*, which published Bills of Mortality from time to time.

¹⁰ Figures given in the Census of 1801 (for 1770) are respectively 814 and 874.

¹¹ From 1770 to 1793 figures are given by Sir F. Eden (see separate Table), which, it is obvious, refer to the Leeds township. It will be seen how accurate they are on comparison with the present independent check for the few years (1770-1776) during which the printed registers are available.

TABLE II—*Cont.*

Year	Leeds Parish Church		Chapels	Total	L.P.C. & St. John's	Chapels less St. John's
	(Upper column, Baptisms;	Lower column, Burials)				
1772	...	571	374	945	588	357
		411	392	803	526	277
1773	...	591	371	962	609	353
		481	469	949	648	302
1774	...	536	317	853	553	300
		362	380	740	464	278
1775	...	602	384	986 ¹²	624	362
		439	382	821 ¹²	550	261
1776	...	624	395	1019	636	383
		350	367	717	454	253
1777	...	617 ¹³	416 ¹³	1033 ¹³	E635 ¹³	398 ¹³
		499 ¹³	414 ¹³	913 ¹³	E618 ¹³	295 ¹³
1778	...	698	419	1117 ¹⁴	E709	408
		490	457	947 ¹⁴	E635	312
1779	...	597	460	1057	E613	444
		546	470	1016	E667	349
1780	...	662	430	1092 ¹⁵	E673	419
		463	399	862 ¹⁵	E576	286
1781	...	644	411	1055	E654	401
		525	452	977	E653	324
1782	...	649	425	1074	E656	418
		472	457	929	E581	348
1783	...	627	444	1071	E639	432
		541	479	1020	E665	355
1784	...	733	468	1201	E740	461
		477	528	1005	E596	409
1785	...	745	492	1237	E763	474
		574	476	1050	E707	343
1786	...	806	492	1298	E815	483
		507	467	974	E636	338
1787	...	764	479	1243	E773	470
		579	517	1096	E702	394
1788	...	794	506	1300	E813	487
		700	592	1292	E864	428
1789	...	858	530	1388	E873	515
		534	509	1043	E650	383

¹² For 1775, Wood (Aikin) also gives, as a solitary example, the totals for the whole parish—baptisms 1140, burials 781.

¹³ After 1776 the printed register for the Leeds Parish Church is not available, although the registers for the chapries have been printed by the Society up to 1812. The figures given in the first column, therefore, have, up to 1793, been deduced from Eden's tables, by subtracting those for St. John's (readily available among the chapries' registers); after 1793 deductions are made from the Census figures in like manner, as yearly totals are provided there from 1780.

¹⁴ The figures given in the *Leeds Mercury* for 1778 (baptisms 1177, burials 987) are probably more accurate than those given above; the difficulty arises from St. John's register not always clearly denoting baptisms and burials, on which particulars, doubtless, the *Mercury* had better information. This remark applies to other years.

¹⁵ From 1780 figures are available in the Census reports.

TABLE II—*Cont.*

Year	Leeds Parish Church	Chapels	Total	L.P.C. & St. John's	Chapels less St. John's
(Upper column, Baptisms; Lower column, Burials)					
1790	... 983	528	1511	E999	512
	799	544	1343	E953	390
1791	... 987	588	1575	E1003	572
	577	542	1119	E677	442
1792	... 1008	639	1647	E1025	622
	751	579	1330	E916	414
1793	... 1051	627	1678	E1061	617
	941	618	1559	E1107	452
1794	... 959 ¹⁶	586	1545	977	568
	695	699	1394	829	565
1795	... 976	561	1567	996	571
	640	613	1253	789	464
1796	... 968	551	1519	985	534
	755	637	1392	902	490
1797	... 1000	661	1661	1021	640
	732	616	1348	878	470
1798	... 1122	644	1766	1140	626
	771	560	1331	899	432
1799	... 1075	653	1728	1090	638
	717	604	1321	849	472
1800	... 1145	597	1742	1161	581
	773	649	1422	933	489

¹⁶ Deductions henceforward to 1800 from the Census returns.

TABLE III

BILLS OF MORTALITY AS GIVEN BY AIKIN (WOOD)
AND THE *LEEDS GUIDE* (1806); EDEN; *LEEDS MERCURY*;
AND THE CENSUS (1801).

(Upper total, Baptisms; Lower total, Burials)

	Aikin-Wood ¹	Eden ²	Mercury ³	Census	Marriages
1764	553				285
	445				
1765	576				296
	459				
1766	584				318
	533				
1767	557				354
	639				
1768	552		807		338
	560		825		
1769	637		908		310
	478		735		
1770	621	552	832	814	327
	587	570	874	874	
1771	689	610	983		339
	533	518	773		
1772	650	586	934		315
	544	528	791		
1773	609	614	957		343
	660	647	893		
1774	630	543	849		289
	478	466	764		
1775	705	625	986		325
	574	558	806		
1776	712	637	1013		392
	475	456	714		
1777	710	635	1025		370
	634	618	945		
1778	781	709	1177		367
	656	635	987		
1779	709	613			412
	686	667			
1780	742	673		1088	423
	591	576		843	
1781	738	654		1046	438
	673	653		935	
1782	741	656		1083	390
	600	581		888	

¹ A Description . . . (see Bibliography). Wood obviously refers to the township of Leeds and quotes for 'births,' not baptisms, including figures for dissenters. Identical with the Aikin-Wood totals are those given in the *Leeds Guide* (1806), which continues the series down to 1804; the only variations in the latter are 799 baptisms (or births) in 1773 and 922 burials in 1792, possibly printer's errors (see the 'Preface' to the *Guide*, p. viii).

² State of the Poor (see Bibliography), pp. 847-62.

³ The 'Bills' for 1767-1776 are given in one entry in the issue for February 4, 1777; later figures are given annually for some years and then dropped.

TABLE III—*Cont.*

	Aikin-Wood ¹	Eden ²	Mercury ³	Census	Marriages
1783	...	725	639	961	423
		682	665	986	
1784	...	880	740	1197	433
		608	596	975	
1785	...	860	763	1240	452
		727	707	1038	
1786	...	940	815	1295	460
		674	636	942	
1787	...	895	773	1229	445
		712	702	1075	
1788	...	933	813	1272	473
		784	864	1258	
1789	...	993	873	1371	465
		671	650	1037	
1790	...	1139	999	1484	476
		969	953	1320	
1791	...	1142	1003	1476	484
		688	677	1163	
1792	...	1171	1025	1607	507
		929	916	1326	
1793	...	1190	1061	1637	556
		1129	1107	1549	
1794	...	1083 ⁴		1545	501
		768		1394	
1795	...	1112		1567	494
		699		1253	
1796	...	1164		1519	532
		875		1392	
1797	...	1219		1661	567
		835		1348	
1798 ⁵	...	1237		1766	528
		729		1331	
1799	...	1124		1728	614
		761		1321	
1800	...	1222		1742	509
		962		1422	

⁴ Figures for 1794-1800 from the *Leeds Guide*, as noted above.

⁵ Andrew Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (1835), p. 396 quotes from 'Mr. Thorpe of Leeds' to the effect that the deaths in 1798-1800 amounted to 2882.

Note.—Where they can be checked, the figures of Eden and Wood correspond, the difference between them being the numbers for dissenters; but Wood does not give them separately and Eden only for selected years, in order to work out a proportion between dissent and the established church (which he finds to be roughly one-eighth). Where Eden got his figures for dissent, is not revealed, but doubtless it would be from Wood himself.

TABLE IV

MARRIAGES.

Year	Census	Leeds Guide	Year	Census	Leeds Guide
1754	245		1781	301	438
1755	265		1782	383	390
1756	262		1783	389	423
1757	247		1784	418	433
1758	316		1785	405	452
1759	256		1786	397	460
1760	230		1787	426	445
1761	241		1788	393	473
1762	227		1789	450	465
1763	260		1790	475	476
1764	225	285	1791	253	484
1765	271	296	1792	528	507
1766	274	318	1793	443	556
1767	220 ¹	354	1794	491	501
1768	245	338	1795	480	494
1769	310	310	1796	525	532
1770	331	327	1797	560	567
1771	325	339	1798	519	528
1772	298	315	1799	605	614
1773	261	343	1800	500	509
1774	295	289			
1775	343	325			
1776	329	392			
1777	360	370			
1778	361	367			
1779	316	412			
1780	320	423			

¹ The totals given in the Census (1801) for the years 1767 to 1776 agree with those supplied in the *Leeds Mercury*, with the trifling exception of 296 marriages in 1774, in place of 295. The figure for 1791 is evidently a misprint.

TABLE V

DECENNIAL AVERAGES OF BAPTISMS, BURIALS AND MARRIAGES (Parish Registers).

MARRIAGES.

1754-60	...	246
1761-70	...	260
1771-80	...	321
1781-90	...	404
1791-1800	...	491
1801-10	...	592
1811-20	...	744
1821-30	...	982

(These figures represent the whole parish, as the marriages not celebrated at the parish church were so few as to be negligible).

BAPTISMS.

	PARISH	INCREASE		TOWNSHIP	INCREASE
		BALANCE	OVER BURIALS		
			P.C.		P.C.
1734/5-1740/1	609	—	67	342	—
1741/2-1750/1	c650	6·7	28	381	11·1
1751-60	751	15·5	69	393	3·4
1761-70	820	9·2	17	488	24·2
1771-80	1006	22·7	153	625	28·1
1781-90	1238	23·1	165	773	23·7
1791-1800	1643	32·7	296	1046	36·6
1801-10	1988	21·0	461	...	...
1811-20	2291	15·2	757	...	...
1821-30	3102	35·4	772	...	...

BURIALS.

	PARISH			TOWNSHIP	
1734/5-1740/1	542	—	...	362	—
1741/2-1750/1	c623	14·9	...	413	14·1
1751-60	682	7·9	...	432	4·6
1761-70	803	17·7	...	503	16·4
1771-80	853	6·2	...	565	12·3
1781-90	1073	25·8	...	701	24·2
1791-1800	1347	25·5	...	878	25·2
1801-10	1527	13·4	...	...	...
1811-20	1534	0·5	...	...	...
1821-30	2330	51·9	...	...	...

TABLE VI

MORTALITY RATES ON TEN-YEAR AVERAGES.

BAPTISMS.

YEAR	PARISH Registers	TOWNSHIP	GRIFFITH: 'Corrected' figures (p. 196) Leeds.
1775	c33.5	36.5 (Registers) 40.5 (Wood)	...
1801	33.9	40.7 (Leeds Guide)	31.6
1811	33.2		32.9
1821	32.5		32.0
1831	...		26.2
1841	...		42.9

BURIALS.

1775	28.4	32.9 (Registers) 34.1 (Wood)	... Leeds (p. 186)
1801	26.2	29.1 (Leeds Guide)	26.0
1811	23.7		25.5
1821	22.7		20.3
1831	...		20.7
1841	...		27.2

MARRIAGES (Parish only). All England (p. 34)

1775	c21	(Registers)	17.20
1801	c24	(Wood)	...
1811	20.9	(Registers)	17.30
1821	21.1	(Leeds Guide)	...
	20.6	(Census)	16.50
	21.1	(Census)	16.16

TABLE VII
THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS
The figures are arranged under each church in the following manner:

St. John's				Bramley				Beeston				Chapel-Allerton			
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
149	61	42	—	65	40	16	40	34	13	8	38	35	13	7	44
147	60	36	—	48	22	10	59	46	30	16	37	25	5	3	38
146	54	37	—	40	10	6	55	57	26	17	65	26	9	5	44
128	48	30	—	57	32	21	64	59	27	17	62	32	9	6	36
132	56	38	—	49	18	10	54	54	22	14	71	34	7	5	44
160	61	41	—	36	13	8	41	62	27	14	59	49	19	14	45
124	53	42	—	64	36	22	57	74	38	16	46	34	5	3	43
144	61	38	—	31	14	12	60	57	20	5	54	30	10	6	47
165	92	59	—	38	11	10	65	56	30	16	62	40	18	7	46
110	41	33	—	44	17	12	67	48	17	9	75	31	6	5	65
				472	213	127	542	547	250	132	569	336	101	61	452

NOTES.

1. Column 3 (burials under 1 year) are not separate totals from those of column 2 but form part of them, the aim having been to show how many of the children were one-year-olds or under.
2. Column 4 (totals of baptisms) are provided for purposes of comparison but no totals are given. St. John's was evidently used more as a church where burials than baptisms were registered; to include its figures in such a grand total would completely falsify a picture already dark enough.

APPENDIX B.

Manufacturing or Agricultural Town Parish or Village.	Year when enumerated	Baptisms	Marriages	Burials	Families	Husbands
Manufacturing Town	1775	1140	343	781	4099	3121
Manufacturing Villages in the same Parish	[*1]	96	—	68	949	753
and therefore no Marriages at these Chapels.	[*2]	43	—	48	508	406
	[*3]	39	—	29	311	247
	1776					
Agricultural Villages in the same Parish	[*4]	22	—	14	116	91
	[*5]	32	—	19	296	232
	[*6]	12	—	14	143	114
Agricultural Parishes at a greater distance from any Town.	—	23	5	6	126	111
	—	13	1	11	119	96
	—	19	3	12	83	64

*1. Hunslet, 1775; *2, Holbeck, 1775; *3, Bramley, 1775; *4, Farnley, 1775;
*5, Chapel-Allerton (including Potter-Newton), 1775; *6, Headingley, 1775.

DEATHS OF CHILDREN UNDER FIVE.

Column 1, total burials; 2, burials under 5 years;
 3, burials under 1 year; 4, total baptisms.

Farnley				Adel (outside the Parish)				TOTAL				Year
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
36	19	14	33	19	6	3	30	338	152	90	—	1795
26	14	3	39	21	6	4	38	313	157	72	—	1796
25	6	3	40	23	9	6	31	317	114	74	—	1797
28	16	7	38	17	2	2	40	321	134	83	—	1798
8	1	—	37	24	9	6	28	301	113	73	—	1799
19	5	4	35	23	8	5	30	349	133	86	—	1800
27	8	4	35	19	9	4	37	342	149	91	—	1801
22	6	5	37	27	16	13	30	311	127	79	—	1802
23	15	8	35	30	12	8	39	352	178	108	—	1803
22	5	3	48	17	1	1	34	272	87	63	—	1804
236	95	51	377	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

3. The table shows therefore a high proportion of child burials to the total burials; the same proportion to baptisms is more variable according to time and place.
4. Bramley and Beeston may be taken as representing manufacturing districts, Chapel-Allerton and Farnley as rural districts, and St. John's as a real town church. Adel was a rural district just beyond Leeds Parish.

LUCAS'S TABLE.

Wives	Widowers	Widows	Bachelors	Spinsters	Infants		Total	7117	Number to each family
					Male	Female			
3193	347	795	861	1330	3712	3760	[17117]	4 1-5	
752	67	123	151	168	920	891	3825	4 1-30	
405	36	66	81	92	492	477	2055	4 1-20	
247	18	55	84	72	350	305	1378	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
92	7	18	26	17	156	133	540	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
237	20	48	78	121	302	314	1352	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
117	14	20	39	53	168	142	667	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
108	8	21	80	66	124	122	640	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	
94	10	23	90	71	98	100	582	4 1-20	
66	7	17	55	54	82	60	405	4 7-8	

APPENDIX C.

LUCAS'S "TABLE THIRD" FOR 1781.

Number of Inhabitants [sic]	Burials in general six months	Births in general In six months	Burials by the small pox	Had the disease naturally	Recovered	Were inoculated	Recovered	Died by inoculation	Remained to have the disorder	Requested to be inoculated
1117	410	399	130	462	332	385	381	2	700	54

"N.B.—Two of the Patients, who also died, began to be indisposed so soon after having been inoculated, as to make it beyond a doubt to be the natural Small Pox. Instead of the General Inoculation causing the infection to spread, the complaint speedily abated, and was soon eradicated."

Table given in an article by James Lucas in the *London Medical Journal*, X (1789), p. 260 ff., and reproduced (without mention of the specific year 1781) in his *An impartial inquiry into the present state of parochial registers . . .* (1791) p. 55. Cf. Creighton, *History of epidemics in Britain*, (1894), II, 510.

APPENDIX D.

Advertisement in the *Leeds Intelligencer*, January 26th, 1801.

"The following Particulars are extracted from the Register of Hunslet Chapel, near this Town

In the year	Baptisms	Burials
1791	158	117
1792	165	97
1793	184	89
1794	163	175
1795	160	95
1796	132	109
1797	158	127
1798	167	98
1799	169	105
1800	166	124
	1622	1136

From the above, the following Conclusions become evident:

- 1st.—That Baptisms exceed the Burials in the last ten Years by 486.
- 2nd.—The annual Increase is 48 3/5ths.
- 3rd.—The Increase in the last ten Years is about one-ninth of the number of Inhabitants.
- 4th.—As Hunslet is reckoned at only a medium Degree of Healthiness, perhaps the Population of the Kingdom at large may be supposed to have increased in the same Proportion, namely one-ninth in the last ten Years.
- 5th.—The Increase of Land in Cultivation has by no means kept Pace with the above Increase in Population.
- 6th.—Hence the Kingdom by no means grows Corn sufficient for its Consumption.
- 7th.—Hence also every Step ought to be taken to facilitate the Inclosure of Waste Lands."

APPENDIX E.

Advertisement in the *Leeds Intelligencer*, November 17, 1800.

"LEEDS

As it appears by the annexed Extract from the Register of the Parish Church in Leeds that the Fatality attendant upon the Small Pox increases rapidly in this Town and Neighbourhood, a sincere Wish to put a Stop to a Disease which is attended with so much Danger to Mankind has induced the undersigned Physicians and Surgeons to meet in the Board Room of the General Infirmary and to adopt unanimously the following Resolutions.

1st. That in our Opinion the Vaccine or Cow Pox is a much milder Disease than the Small Pox, and is attended with little or no Danger, as out of the MANY THOUSANDS who have been inoculated for the Cow Pox, only ONE Child has died, and that attended with Symptoms which might have proved fatal if the Child had not been inoculated.

2d. That it appears from very extensive Experience in different Parts of the Kingdom, that a Person who has once gone through the Vaccine Pox from Inoculation cannot afterwards be infected with the Small Pox.

3d. That in the Opinion of this Meeting an immediate General Inoculation for the Vaccine Pox will be the best Method which can be adopted for putting a Stop to the present increasing Mortality which prevails in this Town from the natural Small Pox.

4th. That being desirous for the above mentioned Reasons of promoting the Inoculation of the Vaccine Pox, we hereby offer our Services to the Poor of this Town, and engage to inoculate their Children and supply them with any Medicines which may be necessary free from all Expense.

5th. That those poor Persons who are desirous to avail themselves of this Offer, may bring their Children to the Houses of any of the undersigned Surgeons on any Monday or Thursday at Three O'Clock in the Afternoon.

6th. That in Case any Circumstance should occur during the Inoculation which may require an Attendance upon the Patient at Home, such Attendance will be given by any of us, whose Names are hereunto subscribed.

Stanhope Baynes, M.D.	Wm. Hey, Jun., Surgeon	Surgeon
Robert Davison, M.D.	Maurice Logan, Surgeon	Surgeon
Benjamin Hird, M.D.	John Moxon, Surgeon	Surgeon
R. W. D. Thorp, M.D.	Benj. Musgrave, Surgeon	Surgeon
Joshua Walker, M.D.	Tho. Parkinson, Surgeon	Surgeon
Obadiah Brooke, Surgeon	John Robinson, Surgeon	Surgeon
Thomas Chorley, Surgeon	Thomas Rusby, Surgeon	Surgeon
T. A. Coates, Surgeon	Matthew Shirtliffe, Surgeon	Surgeon
Sam. Dickenson, Surgeon	John Soper, Surgeon	Surgeon
Wm. Dodsworth, Surgeon	James Tatham, Surgeon	Surgeon
William Hey, Surgeon	Thomas Teale, Surgeon	Surgeon

[Advertisement in the *Leeds Intelligencer*, Nov. 7, 1800—*Cont.*]

A LIST OF BURIALS AT THE PARISH CHURCH,
FOR THE FOLLOWING MONTHS OF THE PRESENT YEAR
(Copied from the Register)

Months	Total Number of Burials	Out of which have died of the Small Pox
May	61	0
June	48	3
July	51	4
August	50	12
September	72	26
October	76	30
November 12th	39	17

Leeds, November 15th, 1800.

NOTE: In the next issue, November 24th, certain 'additional hints' were given, over the signatures of Davison, Walker and Thorp; and Dr. Haygarth's "rules to prevent infectious fevers" were printed. From letters printed on December 1st, there is a hint of opposition to the scheme.

APPENDIX F.

"ADDRESS to the Inhabitants of Leeds.

The Committee appointed to address the Public relative to the Infectious Fever that has for some Time raged in Leeds, offer the following Observations to their Consideration:

It appears from the collected Information of the Faculty that a Fever, of a very contagious Nature, exists in different Quarters of this Town, and that, owing to the confined and unventilated Apartments of those Families where it usually takes place, it has, in many Instances proved fatal.

This is also painfully confirmed by an Examination of the Parish Register, whereby it appears that, although the Autumn of last Year nearly doubled in general Mortality, the present; yet the Deaths by Fever, for the last Month is One Half more than the corresponding Month of 1800."

[The Address goes on to give examples of the highly infectious nature of the fever from observed facts, to prove the 'utter impracticability' of applying proper remedies, owing to the 'close and noisome dwellings of the poor. It asserts that the only way is to remove the sufferers from the place of infection, and that the plan is not proposed without the fullest proof of its efficacy elsewhere, experience at Manchester and Chester being quoted in support. The Address makes a special point of stressing the value of the scheme in keeping down the parish rates].

[Further particulars of the scheme are given in an advertisement in the same issue: temporary accommodation had been found, but more suitable quarters were being looked for].

(Leeds Intelligencer, December 14, 1801).

[A year later, on November 8, 1802 (with a correction on November 15) the *Leeds Intelligencer* reported that about 1,500 people in the town and vicinity had caught the infection of the "present contagious fever" in the eight months "immediately preceding May-day," and that the fever had much increased in November].

APPENDIX G—"MEAZLES."

To the Editor of the Leeds Intelligencer.

SIR.—The extraordinary number of deaths which have occurred within the last few weeks, in this town, has induced me to extract the following short bill of mortality from the Register of the Parish Church, and to submit it, through the intervention of your paper, to the notice and consideration of the public. The greater part of the inhabitants are probably ignorant of the extent of the mortality, or deceived by erroneous reports concerning it. So great, however, are the ravages which a fatal distemper has already made, and is still making, especially among their children, that it seems highly proper they should be put in possession of a true statement of the magnitude of the calamity.

In the month of March the total number of deaths recorded in our register is 99, of which 30 were occasioned by the measles. In April the whole number is 188, and of these 118 appear also to have proceeded from the measles. During the last six days of the present month, 57 have died in all, of whom 20 have fallen a prey to the same fatal malady. It appears therefore, that from the 1st of March to the present time, 324 persons have been buried at the Parish Church, and that more than half these (168) have been carried off by the measles or other concomitant diseases. The deaths arising from other causes do not appear to have exceeded the number which usually occur. Most of the excessive mortality, therefore, which now prevails in this town, and which has already carried off 168 persons (all of whom are children, and under 8 years of age) is to be ascribed to the fatal operation of that epidemic disease which is recorded in our register, under the denomination of the measles. Whether the deaths of these 168 children proceeded exclusively from this specific malady, or arose, in part, from the co-operation of other diseases, must be left to the Faculty to decide. But from the imperfect knowledge which those who give in the names of the deceased generally have of the real diseases of which people die, it is too probable that our registers are far from being that historical record of human disease, which it is desirable and important they should be. When the specific complaint happens not to be known, it is commonly referred to some general disorder, such as decline. How far such inaccurate information may have obtained in the present case, I am not prepared to say. Tho' I think it not improbable that if the Faculty had reported their own respective cases, there would have been some differentiation of disease.

[The writer then suggests the Faculty should do this and allow Leeds to have an accurate historical register of deaths and their causes; then he proceeds to lament the virulence of disease in the town, thinking the most efficacious remedy would be to stop contagion. He pleads for action and is much concerned about the effect of disease in diminishing population].

'CLERICUS.'

Leeds Intelligencer, May 8, 1809.

[Next week, the *Intelligencer*, reporting 57 funerals at the Parish Church during the preceding week, noted that 35 were classified as due to measles and 5 to small pox].

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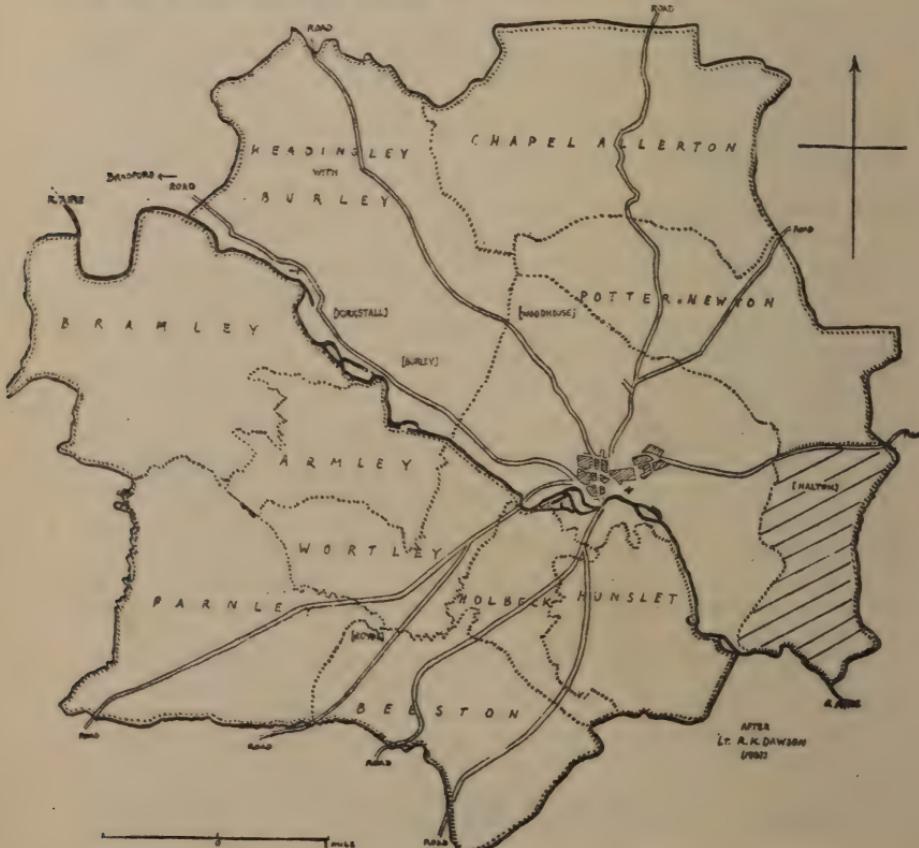
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NOTE ON THE MAP

This sketch plan is intended to show only the situation of the out-townships and their relation to the Leeds township and borough; minor details like the becks (as boundaries) and the small portions of Hunslet belonging to Holbeck and of Holbeck belonging to Hunslet have been omitted. Dawson's aim was to show the 'proposed boundary of the borough' and the boundaries of the chapelries, or townships; his map also shows the routes of canals and railways, actual and proposed.



Conveyancing Practice from Local Records

By AMY G. FOSTER, B.A.

[This paper, originally prepared as a lecture to members of the Society, was not in any sense intended as a history of conveyancing methods, but to explain to people not familiar with legal practice the kind of information the historian may expect to find in the various types of conveyancing documents most frequently found in a local repository.]

When transferring land from one person to another some sort of a document has usually accompanied the transaction because, though not absolutely necessary until 1677, it was weighty evidence in proof of title. Originally it was not the deed which effected the transfer. The operative words¹ in a deed such as 'I have given granted &c.,' were always in the past tense and recorded that something had been done. The ceremony recorded was that of publicly delivering the *seisin* or handing over possession. The vendor and purchaser enter on to the land to be transferred bringing with them a number of witnesses including neighbours who had a personal interest in the boundaries. The vendor then delivers to the purchaser a turf or twig or something growing on the land as a token repeating some such formula as "This land and twig I give to thee as free as Athelstan gave it to me and I trust a loving brother thou wilt be." According to Blackstone writing in the eighteenth century the formula was "I deliver these to you in the name of *seisin* of all the lands and tenements contained in this deed." If a house were included in the sale the vendor takes the ring or latch of the door and hands it to the purchaser, the house being empty. The purchaser enters, shuts the door, then opens it and lets in the others.

In medieval times the names of the witnesses were written by the scribe in the *hiis testibus*² clause at the end of the deed. Later the witnesses signed their own names on the back. This

¹ v.p. 210.

² v.p. 210.

ceremony over, the new owner was said to be seised of the piece of land, which means to be in possession of an estate in that land anciently thought worthy to be held by a freeman and which could be inherited by his heirs, in other words, he becomes a tenant in fee simple in possession. The freeholder is still seised even if he had leased the premises to someone else and allowed him to occupy them. The leaseholder is never seised and when his term of occupation has expired the property reverts to the freeholder in whom the seisin has always remained.

MEDIEVAL LEGISLATION.

Land under the feudal system is not the subject of ownership but of tenure. Technically no one owned land except the king to whom all land belonged. A certain portion, the royal demesne, royal forests and so on, he reserved for his own use and maintenance. The rest was let out to tenants in return for military service. Such tracts of land went by the general name of fief or fee though the larger tracts were also called baronies and honours. To give a fee to a person was to enfeoff him, the donor was called the feoffor, the recipient, the feoffee and the document recording the transaction a feoffment. A feoffment has often been called a grant particularly by nineteenth century historians, but strictly it is a misnomer—freehold land could not lie in grant until the Real Property Act of 1845.

A knight's fee was supposed to be sufficient land to maintain a fully armed knight and varied in size. It usually comprised a manor, sometimes several manors, but subdivision would tend to follow ancient boundaries. In the time of Henry II a knight's fee was valued at £20 p.a. To secure the requisite man-power for the military service owed to the king, the tenants-in-chief divided their lands into smaller fees and sublet them for military service. Their chief business was fighting so some of their lands were let for agricultural purposes by which they and their families were fed. Hence the rise of socage tenure which was free but non-military and the unfree villein tenure which gradually developed into copyhold. These two provided the necessary agricultural labour.

After military service the most important function of the great landowner was the maintenance of order and civil adminis-

tration of his area. The central government was weak and had to depend on local government which was intimately bound up with land tenure. To discharge this responsibility the lord of a manor would hold his own courts, appoint local officials, grant charters, direct trade, fairs and agriculture and generally organize the area under his control. No one was more alive to the disadvantages of a weak central government than the English kings themselves and they soon set about increasing their power at the expense of their tenants-in-chief. One of the greatest checks to baronial power was the practice introduced by Henry I and developed by Henry II of taking *scutage* or shield-money instead of personal military service. With the money the king acquired an hired army—ultimately making possible the Wars of the Roses. *Scutage* diminished baronial power by the impetus it gave to the subdivision of fees. When the 'rent' of a piece of land was one knight you did not divide the land because you could not divide the knight but you could divide a money payment and in time the baron's large retinue of military tenants was converted into a vast army of smallholders—useful in their way but nothing like so good for prestige.

AIDS AND INCIDENTS.

As the administrative power of the barons decreased feudalism tended to become merely a complicated system of land tenure in return for *aids and incidents*. Aids were originally voluntary payments levied for a special need. By the time of Edward I they had become obligatory, the occasions being restricted by Magna Carta to the lord's ransom if he were taken prisoner, the knighting of his eldest son and the marriage of his eldest daughter. Incidents (from *incidere*) are the payments which fall on you at irregular intervals. They were known as *relief*³—a payment made to the overlord by the heir when he succeeded to his father's estate: *escheat*—the reversion of the land to a superior lord when the tenant died without an heir or for some reason, like treason, forfeited his estate: *wardship and marriage*—the right of the lord to control the estate and children of a tenant who died leaving infant heirs: *suit of court* and *suit of mill*—or, the obligation of the tenant to attend the manorial courts when so required and to grind his corn at the manorial mill. These aids and incidents were originally the very life blood

³ *Primer seisen* only applied to the tenants-in-chief.

of local administration, the means by which the landowner was enabled to carry out his responsibilities. Later, when King and Parliament assumed these duties, aids and incidents tended to be regarded as perquisites attached to the holding of land. They were finally abolished in 1660.

METHODS OF TRANSFER—SUBSTITUTION AND SUBINFEUDATION.

In the Middle Ages selling or transferring land was a very different problem from the modern notion of selling a house with some land attached to it. It meant handing over the administration of the whole area. Land was originally granted for administrative purposes. Granted, moreover, to a man and his heirs for ever, provided he fulfilled his obligations. The hereditary quality is an essential factor in the bargain and the estate must endure as long as there are heirs to inherit it. This raises the very vexed question, What right has a man to sell his lands and alienate them from his heirs? It is a question that was debated for centuries and the early history of conveyancing can be said to centre around the struggle between ingenious lawyers who passed laws to prevent free alienation and more ingenious lawyers who found out legal ways of evading them. By the thirteenth century feudalism had come to recognise two ways of dealing with land, viz. *substitution* and *subinfeudation*. A mesne lord (i.e. one a little lower down in the hierarchy than a tenant-in-chief) could sell his lands and substitute another tenant for himself, so that the new tenant held direct of the superior lord to whom he performed all the customary services. *Subinfeudation* is to cut off a portion of a fee and create a new tenancy so that the original tenant becomes a mesne lord to his new tenant. This is how 'manors' were originally created and the process could go on indefinitely, each tenant sub-letting a smaller fee and becoming a mesne lord to the new tenant. Theoretically, subinfeudation did not affect the position of the tenant-in-chief who was still responsible for the original fee. In practice, however, it affected him very adversely because certain aids and incidents would naturally be paid to the immediate overlord. Constant subinfeudation meant that the wealth and power of the greater barons were being decreased while their tenants were enjoying what should have been their advantages. The result was a tug of war between the tenants-in-chief who wanted to maintain the

hereditary nature of their fees and prevent the whittling away of their estates and the smaller tenants who wanted free alienation and the avoidance of as many feudal obligations as possible. In the thirteenth century the tenants-in-chief had the upper hand and managed to pass two laws which were intended to operate in their favour—*De Donis* of 1285 and *Quia Emptores* in 1290. The latter put an end to subinfeudation and permitted substitution only in any dealings involving the transfer of land. That is why all manors were created before 1290 and the reason for the gradual disappearance of mesne tenures. It was a temporary settlement of a difficult problem. It secured the right of the freehold tenant to sell his lands if he wanted to but only in such a way that his overlord secured the incidents. In a feoffment the effect of the Statute is clearly seen in the clause beginning *habendum et tenendum*.⁴ Before the statute land was said to be held “ de me et heredibus meis pro homagio et servicio,” afterwards feoffments were made to hold “ de capitalibus dominis feodi per servicia inde prius debita et de jure consueta.”

THE FEE TAIL

De Donis Conditionalibus, 1285, was the statute that created the fee tail—tail from *talliatum* to cut down and it cut down or limited the inheritance to a particular class of heirs. Previously, a freehold estate in fee simple could descend to all the heirs of the original holder (technically called the “ ancestor ”) collateral as well as lineal, but the Common Law had very early come to recognise certain modifications particularly with regard to a daughter’s marriage portion which could be settled on her and her heirs and if she had no children the land would revert to her father and would not become part of her husband’s estate. Tenants often made use of this principle to keep the lands in the family, restricting the descent to their sons so that they could not be alienated by their descendants. A certain John Darley in the seventeenth century made a settlement of his manors that they may remain “ in the blood and issue male of John Darley and not be divided among females which in likelihood may alienate the same into much strange blood and by such partition and alienation breed strife ruin and confusion of the whole.” This principle of limiting the inheritance was firmly established by *De Donis*

⁴ v.p. 210.

and the new statutory estate called the fee tail was to become an integral part of our conveyancing law. Henceforth land conveyed to a man and the heirs of his body could not in any circumstances be alienated from those heirs. It could not be sold or forfeited and was not liable for debt. It was not long however, before someone discovered the proverbial loophole through which to drive his cart and a method of evading the statute was provided by means of a fictitious suit tried in the Court of Common Pleas which became known as suffering a Common Recovery.

COMMON RECOVERY

The Common Recovery was said to have been invented by ecclesiastics to evade the Statute of Mortmain. It was certainly in use by 1493⁵ and became a regular method of barring the entail until it was abolished in 1833. Though wholly fictitious all the formalities of an actual suit were put into operation, but as the documents accruing belonged to the Court archives only the final summary of the proceedings handed to the plaintiff will be found in a local repository. Briefly⁶ the procedure was as follows : The tenant in possession who was desirous of barring the entail was called the tenant-in-tail. A friend would bring an action against him claiming that he had a better title to the land. The tenant-in-tail would not attempt to defend the action himself but called on the person from whom he had acquired the lands and who would have given a warranty⁷ in his feoffment. They all go before the judge when the original donor, now called the vouchee, and the plaintiff are given leave to *imparl*, i.e. permission to talk it over. They retire, but the vouchee disappears and the Court assumes that he cannot prove his title and orders that the friend, now called the Recoveror, should have the lands he claimed, at the same time, and this is important, giving the tenant-in-tail permission to recover lands of equal value from his original guarantor. Actually the vouchee was usually the court crier—a poor man from whom the tenant-in-tail would never receive satisfaction, but it was why the Common Recovery was allowed to bar the entail, because if the tenant had received other lands in recompense, as in theory he was supposed to, his

⁵ Taltarum's case.

⁶ For a full account see Holdworth's *History of English Law* iii 111-20.

⁷ v.p. 210.

heirs would still have had their inheritance according to the laws of descent. To complete the proceedings the Recoveror must be given possession so the Court issues a writ (*habere facias seisinam*) directed to the Sheriff to give him seisin and when the Sheriff returned the writ endorsed to the effect that it had been executed the Recoveror had acquired an estate in fee simple by the judgement of a Court of Record. This is the simplest form and is known as a Recovery suffered by single voucher. After the Tudor period Recovery by double voucher was more usual. The tenant-in-tail would convey the land to a friend making him the tenant to the freehold and a third party would issue the writ for possession. This required two vouchees to prove the title. It then remained for the Clerk of the Court to write out a summary of the proceedings and seal it with the official seal of the Court. This is called the Exemplification of the Recovery and is frequently found among local records.

But the friend was only acting as a trustee to bar the entail. It required another deed to direct him how to deal with the property according to the wishes of the tenant-in-tail. These might be set out in his will or in a deed called a Deed to Declare the Uses of a Recovery if made after the Recovery had been suffered, a Deed to Lead the Uses of a Recovery if made before.

FINES

Another method which could be used to bar the entail was the Conveyance by Fine, another fictitious suit in the Court of Common Pleas. Its use to bar entails had been expressly forbidden by *De Donis* but it was made available for that purpose by an act 32 Hen. VIII, c.36. Originally, it was a settlement in Court of a real controversy to which it put a final end but the security of title which it vouchsafed soon led to its adoption as a mode of conveyance. The suit became a fictitious one based on an agreement which the defendant had not fulfilled. In the process of levying a fine (a fine is 'levied', a recovery 'suffered') five records were created viz. The Writ of Covenant, the Licence to agree, the Concord, the Note of the Fine, the Foot and the Indentures. The Foot recites the whole proceedings in summary fashion and together with the previous records was deposited with the *Custos Brevium*. The Feet of Fines are fairly complete from the time of Richard II and are kept at the Public Record

Office. The Indentures were copies of the Fine and were given to the litigants and will often be found in a local depository with the Exemplification of the Fine which was issued under seal of the Court at the cost of the applicant. The Indentures are sometimes called Final Concords from the opening words "Hec est finalis concordia." The Fine was used chiefly to extinguish dormant titles (all claims were barred unless made within five years after the levying of the fine), to prevent married women claiming dower by making them parties to the fine and to bar the issue in tail. It was not, however, such an effective bar as the Common Recovery for it barred only the estate tail of the person levying the fine and not any remainders or reversion expectant upon it as the Common Recovery did. Like the Recovery it will often be accompanied by a Deed to Declare *or* Lead the Uses of a Fine.

There are two other conveyancing documents common to the medieval period—the Quitclaim and the Grant in Free Alms.

QUITCLAIM

The quitclaim was an assurance recognised by the Common Law which released (the operative words are remise, release and for ever quitclaim) all rights in the property. It only acted as a conveyance if the intending purchaser were already in occupation of the premises and so was able to accept from the freeholder a release of all his rights and interest, including his freehold interest, so eventually obtaining the freehold without livery of seisin. A Quitclaim usually begins with the words *Omnibus Christi fidelibus* and is polled not indented. That this method was allowed by the Common Law Courts changed the whole course of conveyancing practice in the seventeenth century when it was put to uses undreamed of by the lawyers who invented it.

ECCLESIASTICAL TENURE

The tenure by which the Church held its lands was known as *libera eleemosyna, frankalmoyne* or free alms. About the time of the Conquest, under Pope Hildebrand, the Church was claiming exemption from all secular control and, *inter alia*, claimed that all their lands were held by spiritual service only, i.e. that prayers and masses should be said for the souls of the grantors, and that they could not be called on for military service. It was

a claim that was never allowed by English kings and abbots and bishops had to subinfeudate their lands to provide the requisite services for the king. Later scutage was accepted. It was not a popular tenure among the other great landowners and the fact that it opened the door to the evasion of military service by collusive grants was one of the things that paved the way to the Statute of Mortmain in 1279. After this date lands could not be granted for spiritual services only or in any way in which they felt the touch of the 'dead hand' except by special licence from the king. In many ways the opposition was justified. Such lands were not bearing a comparable share in taxation and the feudal revenues accruing from monastic lands practically did not exist. An abbot or a bishop never died and there were no death duties, their lands never became vacant and so could not escheat, there were no infant heirs and no wardship or marriage dues and one can understand the king, and particularly his treasurer, being a little peeved about it. The words used to express the tenure implied that the land should be held "of me and my heirs in pure and perpetual alms quit and absolved from all services and demands," but the formula varied slightly.

TUDOR LEGISLATION

In the sixteenth century new methods of conveyancing practice were introduced and the documents most commonly found will be the Bargain and Sale, Lease and Release, Marriage and Family Settlements and Mortgages.

BARGAIN AND SALE

This was a document used for the sale of goods and chattels. That it comes to be used for the transfer of land was the result of the Statute of Uses, 1535. The medieval doctrine of uses is almost equivalent to our idea of a trust. A trustee who holds trust property, though he has the legal estate vested in him, receives none of the benefits. All profits and income are vested in someone else called a beneficiary. It is the principle on which all charitable institutions administer their estates for the benefit of other people. The beneficiary's counterpart in the Middle Ages was the *cestui que use*. The doctrine of uses developed as a result of the conflict between the people who wanted freedom to alienate their lands and those who wanted to tie them up so

that they could not be sold. One method of evading *De Donis* was the Common Recovery by which the property was conveyed to a friend who was called the feoffee to uses. The legal estate vested in him and in the eyes of the law he was responsible for the property. But he only held it to the use of the *cestui que use* so that the legal ownership became separated from the beneficial ownership which was vested in the person who received the benefits. The weak spot in this evasion was that the settlor had to trust in the honesty of his trustee and if he proved dishonest there was no redress in the Courts of Common Law which never sanctioned this divorce between legal and beneficial ownership and did not recognise the rights of the *cestui que use*. It was here that the Court of Chancery stepped in exercising its equitable jurisdiction and enforcing the rights of the *cestui que use*. It led to a great deal of friction, of course, between the Common Law lawyers and their rivals in the Court of Chancery but that is another story. The important point is that a way has been found to transfer land without delivery of the seisin and its attendant publicity and so to avoid a number of burdensome feudal obligations. If, for instance, an infant heir on coming of age takes possession under uses declared in his father's will instead of by descent at common law, there was no right of wardship and marriage for the superior lord and the heir avoids certain feudal incidents. Such was the position at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Obviously it was the smaller landowners who stood to gain most by the continuance of uses and as they were a powerful element in Parliament it was difficult to procure legislation that affected them adversely. However, Henry VIII succeeded, largely by enlisting on his side the professional jealousy of the Common Law lawyers for the Chancery lawyers and in 1535 the Statute of Uses was passed. Briefly the Act said that the legal and beneficial estates should no longer be separated but that the legal estate should pass immediately with the beneficial estate to the *cestui que use* by what has been termed "a bit of Parliamentary magic." It was intended to restore the public mode of transfer by stopping the creation of these private trusts. It failed because it allowed the Bargain and Sale to be used for transferring a freehold interest in land. Parliament realized how the Bargain and Sale could be used to avoid the publicity inherent in a feoffment and the following year

passed the Statute of Enrolments which said that every Bargain and Sale of land should be enrolled at Westminster or before the *custos rotulorum* for the county, the clerk of the peace and two justices of the peace or any two of them within six months of its execution. A number of these enrolments will be found, for instance, among the Quarter Sessions Records and a memorandum of the enrolment was endorsed on the deed. But though the Act sanctioned this procedure and historians generally have assumed that the Bargain and Sale enrolled became the recognised practice, deeds in local collections do not support the theory. By far the greater number of documents for this period belong to a hybrid class which combined the formula of the Bargain and Sale with the actual delivery of the seisin required by a feoffment and often incorporated the operative words of both forms, e.g. "give grant bargain sell alien *enfeoff* and confirm." When these documents are enrolled on the dorse of the Close Rolls it is usually when some extra security was felt to be necessary, perhaps in a rather complicated family settlement or when lands were to be held in common socage of the king. When the seisin was delivered the Bargain and Sale was endorsed with words of which the following is typical:— "Memorandum that full and peaceable possession and seisin of and in the within said cottage or tenement closes lands and tenements and of and in all and singular other the granted premises with their appurtenances (this present indenture or deed indented being first sealed and delivered) was peaceably had and taken and afterwards fully and peaceably given and delivered the day and year within written . . ." Sometimes the transaction was effected by two deeds, a Bargain and Sale in English (not enrolled) and a Feoffment in Latin.

Anyone who uses sixteenth century conveyancing documents will be struck by the variety in detail and the apparent hesitancy with which the new legislation was adopted and I think the explanation lies in the great fundamental change of doctrine which was inaugurated by the acceptance of uses. Sir William Holdsworth, lecturing at the University of Birmingham in 1926 said that the Tudor statutes were more revolutionary and more difficult for the legal profession to assimilate than the 1925 Law of Property Acts. They were called to assimilate new ideas without any adequate preparation—twentieth century lawyers had at least

been prepared by the prolific legislation of the nineteenth century—and it was a difficult feat to introduce into the technical and narrow doctrines of medieval land law the elastic and vague principles which governed uses and which were in many respects contrary to the medieval principles of land law. Before the end of the century, however, experiments were being made with a new method of conveyancing which gradually superseded the Bargain and Sale. This was the Lease and Release, two documents being required to complete the transaction.

LEASE AND RELEASE

The Statute of Enrolments said that the transfer of all *freeholds* should be enrolled within six months. It said nothing about a lease which was therefore exempt from its provisions. Under the old law a man who had freehold lands to sell could lease them to a would-be purchaser for a short term and after the purchaser had entered into possession the vendor by making use of the Quitclaim could release his freehold interest. Before the Statute of Uses the intending purchaser would have had to have been in actual possession, after the Statute he had not because it was then sufficient if the parties were manœuvred into such a position that a use had been created in favour of the purchaser. This happened if for a money consideration a man had bargained to lease his lands to another. The Statute of Uses then came into operation and annexed the possession. The intending purchaser being deemed to be in actual possession could then accept a release of the freehold by the old common law method. In practice a lease was usually granted for a consideration of five shillings for the term of one year at a peppercorn rent “to the intent that by virtue of these presents and of the Statute for transferring uses into possession the [Purchaser] may be in actual possession and able to accept a grant and release of the reversion and inheritance thereof.” This was followed the next day by a release of the freehold which stated that the property was then in actual possession “by virtue of a bargain and sale to him made by indenture bearing date the day before the date of these presents for transferring uses into possession.”

At first this method, too, was viewed with suspicion until 1620 when a test case came before the Court in the traditional English way of settling difficulties and in *Lutwidge v. Mitton* a decision

was given in its favour. From that time it became the usual method of conveying lands until the repeal of the Statute of Uses in 1845.

A stage had now been reached when land could be transferred without delivery of the seisin, without entry on the land, without enrolment—just the private sort of transaction that the small landowner wanted. But the machinery was cumbersome, old-fashioned and bristling with relics of feudalism. In the nineteenth century some attempt was made to bring the land laws up to date. From about 1830 every few years there was an Act of Parliament which made some alteration in conveyancing practice but they were only piecemeal attempts to tackle a very big problem and it was left to the twentieth century to produce that great consolidating Act of 1925 by which our modern practice is governed.

NOTES ON THE STRUCTURE OF A DEED.

The longest deed is written without any punctuation, but the introductory words of each part are written in Text so that with a little practice the eye can soon find the clause containing the information sought. An analysis of the various clauses of a Feoffment and a Release may be helpful to a record searcher.

FEOFFMENT

1. *The premises.* Introduced by "Sciant presentes et futuri quod" less frequently by "Omnibus Christi fidelibus" a phrase more often associated with a Quitclaim. It states that AB gives to CD certain lands which are described. This part of the deed must correctly name the grantor and the grantee, correctly delineate the parcels of land which are being transferred and recite any material facts or former transactions which may be necessary.
2. *The habendum et tenendum clause*—to have and to hold. Defines and limits the nature of the estate which is passing, whether fee simple, fee tail etc. and expresses the tenure by which the land is held. Note the different phraseology before and after *Quia Emptores*. This clause was the least stereotyped and variations may be expected.
3. *The reddendum.* This clause is not material to the deed and is not always found. When it does occur it reserves to the grantor some payment e.g. a sum of money, a pound of pepper, a red rose or a pair of spurs, and may be introduced by *reddend' reservand' solvend' faciend' or inveniend'* (invariably contracted forms are used).
4. *6. The date.* ^{Clause of warranty.} *Net* always given in 12th cent. deeds but may be a good title to the property and was willing to defend it if necessary. It stated that the grantor and his heirs would warrant and defend (warantizabimus et defendemus) the land against all men. This is a clause of general warranty. A warranty may also be specific i.e. against certain people only.
5. *In cuius rei testimonium.* These are the introductory words of the clause announcing the sealing of the deed.
6. *The date.* Not always given in 12th cent. deeds but may be found after 1200. Usually calculated by feast days and regnal years.
7. *The 'hiis testibus' clause*—names the witnesses.
8. Memorandum of delivery of the seisin usually as an endorsement. Specimen deeds will be found set out in full in *Formulare Anglicanum* by Thomas Madox, 1702.

THE RELEASE.

1. *The premises or introduction*—the opening clause beginning "This indenture . . ." in which are included the date and names of the parties with their addresses and occupations. The parties to a deed comprise the grantor "of the one part" and the grantee "of the other part" and any other person whose consent is necessary to effect the transaction such as a mortgagee on the sale of mortgaged premises. One party may comprise a group of persons such as three trustees acting together or several owners of one piece of land.

2. *The recitals*—introduced by “Whereas... And Whereas...” They explain the reasons for the transaction e.g. marriage of two of the parties, and give a short history of the grantor’s title. Useful for the genealogist.
3. *The testatum*—introduced by “Now this indenture witnesseth...” It contains the “consideration” and the “operative” words. The consideration is the motive for the transaction. In a straightforward sale of land it is the price paid by the purchaser. It must be “good” or “valuable.” A grant to a blood relation based on natural love and affection was deemed good consideration; based on money or money’s worth was called valuable consideration. If there were no consideration mentioned the gift would be construed by a court of law as operating in favour of the grantor himself. The operative words are the words used to carry out the arrangement made by the parties and state that the first party ‘transfers’ the land to the second party, the transfer in a deed of Release taking the form “grant bargain sell alien release and confirm” but slight variations are found. Strictly any words shewing an intention to pass the estate are effectual but after the reforms of the 19th century the multiplicity of operative words disappears, the forms being fixed by statute and a consistent interpretation given to them.

When conveying a fee simple the testatum contained “the all estate” clause intimating that the grantor was conveying “all his estate right title and interest in the property.” This clause disappears after 1881. When the transaction relates to several parcels of land each operative part may be introduced by a new testatum, “Now this indenture further witnesseth...” especially if the grantor holds a different estate in the various parcels.

4. *The parcels*. This clause contains an exact description of the land to be conveyed, introduced by “All That...” After describing the property in detail with dimensions and boundaries and perhaps a reference to a marginal plan, boundaries, field-names and tenants, the deed enumerates all the subordinate rights and easements which might conceivably be enjoyed with the property. They are inserted in stereotyped form whether they existed or not. These general words cease after 1925 such rights now being deemed to pass without being specifically mentioned.

Exceptions and reservations. If the grantor wishes to withhold certain physical things from the grant such as timber mines or minerals, a clause is inserted after the parcels beginning “Save always and excepted...” An exception can only be made of something *in esse* at the time the grant is made. If the grantor wishes to create some new interest such as a rentcharge not previously *in esse* this is known as a reservation.

5. *Habendum et tenendum*—to have and to hold. The purpose of the habendum is to limit the estate or define the interest in the property which the grantor is conveying. The tenendum at this period has practically no significance but is retained by force of custom.
6. *The reddendum*—“Yielding and Paying therefor...” This clause reserves some “new thing” to the grantor out of that which he has granted.
7. *Covenants, conditions and provisos*. These contain the agreements made between the parties affecting the transaction or imposed by the grantor on the grantee. Most of them are easily recognised though peculiar circumstances often give rise to unusual clauses. A covenanter may pledge himself and his

heirs, in which case if the heirs have assets by descent, they are bound to honour the covenant. If the executors and administrators are pledged to perform something the grantor's personal property as well as land is pledged. This was a better form of security than the older clause of warranty found in a feoffment.

The usual covenants are:—

- (a) suit of court and suit of mill
- (b) a right to distrain for unpaid rent
- (c) for 'quiet enjoyment' i.e. that all conditions being observed the grantee shall not be evicted from the premises
- (d) for 'further assurance' i.e. that the grantor will execute any other deed which may be considered necessary to assure the title within a specified period.
- (e) that the grantor has a good title to the property and is legally entitled to convey the interest purporting to be transferred.
- (f) that the property is free from all encumbrances other than any expressly mentioned in the deed.

Other covenants will be found applicable to the Release when it is used for marriage settlements, mortgages, etc. In a mortgage for example, the ordinary form of Lease and Release may be used but the Release would contain a proviso that on repayment of the consideration money (with interest) the deed should be "utterly void and frustrate."

8. *The testimonium*—the clause announcing the sealing by all parties.

Thoresby as Historian

By J. J. SAUNDERS.

The seventeenth century witnessed not only the birth of natural science and the revolt against the philosophy of Aristotle, but also a "Copernican revolution" in historical research. Hitherto the historian had relied largely on the statements of earlier writers who were to him "authorities": he merely transcribed their accounts, incorporated them into his narrative, gave them a suitable literary form, and added the reference: "See Livy, book xxi, chapter 5," or whatever it was. Beyond that he did not go. If the "facts" he narrated were taken from a recognized "authority," they were presumed trustworthy and reliable. Such was history-writing in the pre-critical age. But when Descartes undertook the reformation of philosophy and declared that only in mathematics, physics and metaphysics could the human mind attain certain knowledge, the historians took this implied depreciation of their craft as a challenge and set to work to vindicate the credibility of history. They achieved this in two ways: first, by criticizing their authorities, and secondly, by making use of non-literary sources.

Starting from the Cartesian principle of rational scepticism, according to which no testimony is to be accepted if it conflicts with what we *know* to be true, the historian now subjected his authorities to a searching examination. Confronted, let us suppose, by three statements A, B and C in one of these writers, he might say: "I accept statement A as true, because it sounds reasonable, and agrees with what I find in other tested sources. I reject statement B, because it is frankly incredible, conflicts with what I find recorded elsewhere, and was written, I believe, to blacken the character of a personal enemy. I regard statement C as partly true, the real facts having been slightly distorted by the writer owing to ignorance and misunderstanding. In my opinion, what actually happened was so-and-so." Again, comparing two descriptions by different writers of the same event, he might decide thus: Writer X drew up his account of these happenings within ten years of their occurrence; he had access to official papers and was intimate with many of the principal

actors, and had in his day a reputation for probity and honesty. Writer Y wrote fifty years later; he appears to have used no original documents but to have copied most of his material from X, and several of his statements, when he is not copying X, are clearly false. I will therefore set Y aside as worthless, and rely on X." This is critical history, whose creators were the Bollandists, the great school of Belgian Jesuits who first applied the new method to the lives and legends of the saints in their massive *Acta Sanctorum*, which began to appear in 1643. They showed how to dissect a tradition by working back through one "authority" after another to the original source and noting the changes, modifications, additions and distortions which the story received as it passed down the stream of time. Many a long-cherished tale or fable crumbled under this keen and penetrating criticism.

Not content with sifting the literary authorities, scrutinizing their statements, and differentiating the true from the false, the probable and the doubtful, the critical historians proceeded to check the narratives of these writers by the evidence of coins, charters, inscriptions and the remains of ancient forts, walls, temples, villas and castles. Archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics were called to the aid of history. Criticism became constructive. Much was gained by proving that a certain statement of an ancient authority was false, but how much better to be able to reconstruct, by the help of an inscription, for example, what in all probability actually took place! In England, Dugdale's *Monasticon*, an account of the medieval abbeys based almost entirely upon cartulary evidence, which appeared between 1655 and 1673, made possible in Prof. Douglas's words,¹ the scientific study of English social history in the Middle Ages. In 1681 Mabillon, the greatest ornament of the Maurists, the Benedictine scholars of St. Germain-des-Prés in Paris, published his magistral treatise *De re diplomatica*, which showed for all time how to tell a genuine medieval charter from a forgery. Thus were new weapons forged with which the historian could pursue the fight for truth with greater chance of success.

The lifetime of Ralph Thoresby fell within the period of this revolution in historical study. The historian of Leeds was born in 1658 and died in 1725. At the time of his birth the first volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* were coming from the Bollandist

press at Antwerp. He was twenty-three when Mabillon's classic work on diplomatics was issued. He was forty when the great Tillemont died, Gibbon's "incomparable guide" and the first man to re-write the history of the Roman Empire according to the new critical principles. He witnessed the spread of those principles in his own country and enjoyed the friendship of almost all the leading scholars of his age. He lived through a period when historical research, originally undertaken from religious or political motives at a time when Royalists were contending with Parliamentarians and Puritans with Anglicans, was beginning to be pursued for its own sake as an independent discipline and mighty works of erudition were being produced, many of them even now not yet wholly superseded. One has only to think of the *Monasticon*, Somner's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (1659), Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* (1691), a mass of material relating to the history of the English dioceses, Hickes's *Thesaurus* (1703), a study in the comparative philology of the Northern languages, Rymer's *Foedera* (1704-26), a collection of the treaties and conventions between England and foreign powers from 1101 to 1654, Lloyd's *Archaeologia Britannica* (1707), the first systematic survey of the Celtic languages, Madox's *History of the Exchequer* (1711), Horsley's *Britannia Romana* (1732), the earliest critical study of Roman remains in Britain, Wilkins' *Concilia* (1737), that invaluable collection of English medieval church councils, synods and convocations, and the accurate editions of the medieval monastic chroniclers produced by such men as Gale and Hearne. It was an age when princes and statesmen were pleased to encourage historical research; Harley brought together the great library which bears his name and appointed Humphrey Wanley its custodian, Rymer and Madox worked under official patronage, and in 1724 Regius professorships of modern history were established at Oxford and Cambridge.

It would be presumptuous to claim for Thoresby a high place among the illustrious band of scholars who made the reigns of William III. and Anne a golden age of erudition, and it may be frankly admitted that much of his renown derives from the valuable *Diary* which has earned him the title of the Yorkshire Pepys, though no greater contrast could be imagined than that between the grave, austere Puritan antiquary and Charles II's gay and volatile Clerk to the Navy.² Yet it is possible that

Thoresby's real merits have been underestimated. Three factors in particular told against him. First, he lacked an academic training, his classical attainments were not high, and as one of his acquaintances put it, "he hath not had the nicest education."³ Secondly, he had a weakness for marvels and prodigies which though shared by many of his abler contemporaries (belief in witchcraft and the black arts was being defended with great learning by Joseph Glanvill in a book published as late as 1681), exposed him to the derision of a later and more sceptical age. Thirdly, he damaged his reputation by perpetrating a bad blunder on the very first page of his magnum opus, the *Ducatus Leodiensis*, where he confuses Leeds Castle in Yorkshire with Leeds Castle in Kent.⁴

But in assessing his position as a topographer and local historian we must take into account his very real qualifications. First, he was one of the greatest numismatists of his time. He possessed a collection of nearly two thousand four hundred coins and medals, the full list of which may be found in the catalogue of the Museum Thoresbyanum printed in the *Ducatus*. The origin of this collection may be traced to a certain Dr. Stonehouse, who was Rector of Darfield from 1631 to 1661, upon whose death it was purchased by Lord Fairfax. John Thoresby, the historian's father, bought it from Fairfax's executors in 1671, and added to it considerably. Thoresby himself built it up into what was undoubtedly one of the finest collections in the kingdom. Nearly half the coins were of the Roman imperial period, but there were many Saxon, Danish, and medieval English ones, and at least one coin believed in its day to be unique in that it had a Runic inscription.⁵ It was the fame of these coins which first introduced Thoresby to the notice of the world of learning and induced Edmund Gibson to solicit his aid in the revised edition of Camden's *Britannia*. No one was better aware than Thorseby of the value of numismatic evidence in reconstructing historical periods for which the literary sources were defective. Secondly, he had a good working knowledge of Anglo-Saxon and was fortunate in living at a time when the study of that language was being pursued with more ardour than in any other age before or since. In the days of Gibson and Thwaites, Queen's College, Oxford became "a nest of Saxonists", Wanley compiled a catalogue of Saxon manuscripts. Hickes threw a flood of light on the

grammar and structure of the language in his "Thesaurus," revised and corrected editions of Bede, Asser, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the three most important documents of the Old English period, made their appearance, and that remarkable pair, William and Elizabeth Elstob, were publishing Saxon texts and translations which for accuracy and elegance have perhaps never been surpassed. With all these scholars Thoresby was closely associated, and his intercourse with them undoubtedly deepened his knowledge and understanding of the Saxon tongue. Thirdly, he was much skilled in heraldry and genealogy and did not shrink from the drudgery involved in investigating family pedigrees. Fourthly, he was something of a field-archaeologist, frequently visiting Roman remains and acquiring a respectable knowledge of the principal Roman sites in the North of England. It was his zeal for Romano-British antiquities which procured him election to the Royal Society in 1697; thirty letters from him were printed in the Society's transactions, mostly relating to the discovery of Roman coins, inscriptions, pottery, shields, mosaics, etc., the most important of these finds being the unearthing of the *vestigia* of a Roman town at Black Moor, four miles from Leeds, in 1702. Lastly, his friendship with almost all the scholars and antiquaries of the time enabled him to keep in close touch with developments in the learned world, for the range of his correspondence was astonishing and the fact that he enjoyed intimacy with erudite bishops, deans, rectors, physicians and college dons, would seem to indicate that the Leeds cloth-merchant was recognized as a man of more than ordinary antiquarian attainments.

Thoresby's published works were few, but the greatest of them, the *Ducatus Leodiensis* (1715), represented the labour of twenty years. Since Camden's mighty *Britannia* had been given to the world in 1586, local history had become a recognized branch of study, and the seventeenth century saw the publication of a number of valuable county and town histories, among them Carew's *Cornwall* (1602), Burton's *Leicestershire* (1622), Somner's *Canterbury* (1640), Butcher's *Stamford* (1646), Dugdale's *Warwickshire* (1656), Thoroton's *Nottinghamshire* (1677), Izaake's *Exeter* (1677), and Plot's *Oxfordshire* (1677) and *Staffordshire* (1686). But nothing had been done for the towns and shires of Northern England until Thoresby undertook

to collect the antiquities of Leeds. He may therefore be said to have had no predecessors, for although much material had been gathered by such men as Nathaniel Johnston, who spent all his life preparing to write a History of Yorkshire which never appeared, and although Thoresby was allowed to inspect the Hopkinson manuscripts,⁶ the *Ducatus* was based almost entirely upon the author's original research. Despite the error which disfigures its opening page, it is a highly competent piece of local history, derived from a laborious study of innumerable charters, registers, heraldic visitations, and the like. It was received with a chorus of praise, was eulogized by such acute critics as Hickes, Gibson and Nicolson, and even won a favourable review in the *Nouvelles Littéraires* of Paris, a most unusual distinction for a work of such limited scope and interest. The progress of research tended to confirm its general accuracy, and a hundred years later, in 1816, it was re-edited by another Yorkshire antiquary, T. D. Whitaker, who had married into the Thoresby family.

The sub-title of the *Ducatus* is "The Topography of the Ancient and Populous Town and Parish of Leedes, and Parts adjacent in the West Riding of the County of York. With the Pedigrees of many of the Nobility and Gentry, and other Matters relating to those Parts." It was therefore mainly descriptive; but Thoresby planned to add to it a historical survey which would embrace a large part of the North of England. Unfortunately, he lived to publish nothing more than the ecclesiastical section under the title of *Vicaria Leodiensis* (1724), which contained a brief account of the Church of Leeds, the lives of its vicars and a catalogue of their works, as well as biographies of Northern worthies such as Archbishops Matthew Hutton and Toby Matthew. From so slender a volume it would be difficult to judge Thoresby's competence as a medievalist, nor did he ever profess to specialize in that field. Happily, there survives a portion of the political history of the North, which he left unfinished and which was published many years after his death in the *Biographia Britannica*.⁷ As this work has thus been buried in an eighteenth century biographical dictionary and has in consequence been little noticed, an analysis of it may not be out of place.

Thoresby begins by explaining the purpose of his history. "Though my design be chiefly to collect the memoirs of persons eminent for learning and piety, beneficence and valour who have adorned these Northern parts in later ages, wherein we have the advantage of more certain and express authorities, yet I shall endeavour to give a view of the state thereof, during the darker and more remote ages of the Britons, and Romans, together with the Saxons, Danes and Normans, only resolving to be more short where positive authorities cannot be had, as none are to be expected in parochial affairs during the first epocha." He does not linger over the ancient British period, but passes quickly to an account of the Roman conquest and settlement of the North. Where the Roman historians fail him, he has recourse to the evidence of coins, inscriptions and place-names, and his numismatic knowledge sometimes enables him to correct the errors of previous antiquaries. Thus he denies the assertion of Nathaniel Johnston that a certain coin was minted at Calcaria (Tadcaster) by showing that the inscription which Johnston read as "**CALCAPAVC**" was really "**CAESAR AUG**" and that in any case the name of the mint was never placed on the obverse of a Roman imperial coin, where only the titles of the Emperor were to be found. He brings forward evidence, based on his own investigations, to prove that the Roman station at Adel moor was burnt during the revolt of the Brigantes in 123, no coins later than Hadrian having been found there, and that the Ninth Legion was stationed at York, though it was left to Horsley to show that in Hadrian's time the Ninth was replaced by, or incorporated in, the Sixth, which bore the proud title of *Victrix*.⁸ He finds proof of the presence of Vandal and Aleman *foederati* in Yorkshire in such place names as Wendall (Vandal) Hill, at Barwick-in-Elmet, and at Almanbury, though these were possibly Gale's guesses. He dates the final abandonment of Britain by the Romans at 421, on what grounds is not quite clear, though it almost anticipates the theory of Collingwood, that after the withdrawal of the main body of Roman troops by Constantine III. in 409, there was a temporary re-occupation from about 417 to 429.⁹ For the Saxon invasions he accepts too uncritically the statements of Nennius, though on the subject of the historicity of Arthur, he quotes Stillingfleet's sensible remark that "both parties are to blame; those who tell such incredible tales of him

as are utterly inconsistent with the circumstances of the British affairs at that time; and those who on the other hand deny there was any such person, or of any considerable power.”¹⁰ His sketch breaks off at the conquest of the British kingdom of Elmet by Edwin of Deira about 625. On the whole, it may be pronounced a well-written survey; the narrative runs smoothly and the material is well arranged. It is, in fact, admirable evidence of the state of Romano-British studies at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It does indeed betray in places that want of judgment which was Thoresby’s chief defect as a scholar, as, for instance, when he allows his local patriotism to seduce him into claiming Leeds as one of the twenty-eight “British cities” mentioned by Nennius. Yet he notes that the names of the towns and villages in the locality are Saxon, while those of the woods and rivers and other natural features are Celtic, and a modern scholar would hardly venture to trace the history of Leeds beyond the passage in Bede, where the father of English history states that a Christian altar erected by Edwin and destroyed by the pagans, was later re-erected at the cell of one Abbot Thrydulf, “in regione quae vocatur Loidis.”¹¹

Thoresby must be judged as an antiquary and a collector rather than as a historian proper. He was an industrious gatherer of topographical material, a sound numismatist and genealogist, and the owner of one of the finest private collections of coins and manuscripts then in existence. He wrote a book which for all its defects did honour to his native city and is still a storehouse of reliable information. It may be true, as his later editor remarked, that “in his Reasoning on obscure Subjects, he displays no great Felicity of Conjecture, no great Depth or Acuteness of Reflexion.”¹² But this is only to say that he did not rise greatly above the level of the local historians of his time, of whom Collingwood remarks: “The authors of these works were as a rule not professional scholars. Sometimes they were hack-writers who wrote the history of any county which seemed to require it; but the best of them were residents (land-owners, clergy, etc.), educated men whose interests were centred in their own counties and whose appetite for information connected with their home-district was omnivorous. Hence the local knowledge contained in these works is almost always of an extremely high order: it is accurate, critical and intelligent. But

the general equipment of historical and archaeological learning in the light of which local facts are interpreted is often defective, so that the authors observe their facts correctly but are apt to misunderstand their significance."¹³ This verdict of a modern expert may also stand as a final judgment of Ralph Thoresby.

NOTES

¹ *English Scholars* (1939), p. 40.

² They seem, however, to have shared a fondness for sermons.

³ Fothergill to Hearne, Jan. 20, 1711. Hearne Collections, iii, 110.

⁴ It must be acknowledged that the mistake was inexcusable, as he had been warned against it by Nathaniel Johnston and others. Yet Thoresby's nineteenth century editor, T. D. Whitaker, also thought that Richard II was imprisoned at Leeds Castle in Yorkshire. See his *Loidis and Elmte* (1816), p. 4.

⁵ It was generally believed that no coins were minted in Scandinavia, Denmark, or any of the lands occupied by the Vikings until the use of the Runic characters had been abandoned. A Danish antiquary, Nicolas Keder, wrote a monograph on Thoresby's Runic coin (*De argento Runis, Lipsiae*, 1703).

⁶ John Hopkinson (1610-1680), a native of Lofthouse, near Leeds, was clerk of the peace for the county of York, in Charles I's reign and deputy to Sir William Dugdale, whom he accompanied on the heraldic visitation of Yorkshire in 1665-6. He transcribed the pedigrees of almost all families of note in the West Riding, and left behind eighty MS. volumes of genealogical material. See Thoresby's *Diary*, Nov. 16, 1681, and the Review for 1697, vol. i, p. 314.

⁷ Vol. vi (1763), pp. 3934-3943.

⁸ J. Horsley, *Britannia Romana* (1732), p. 80.

⁹ Collingwood & Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (1936), chap. xviii.

¹⁰ Bishop Stillingfleet, *Origines Britannicæ*, 1685 (ed. T. P. Pantin, 1842, vol. ii, p. 498).

¹¹ *Hist. Eccl.* ii, 14.

¹² T. D. Whitaker, in the preface to the 1816 edition of the *Ducatus*.

¹³ Collingwood & Myres, op. cit., pp. 468-9.

A History of Hunslet in the Later Middle Ages

G. G. GAMBLE, M.A., M.ED.

INTRODUCTION

The township of Hunslet lies to the south of the ancient township of Leeds not more than half a mile from the city centre. It is roughly oval in shape with a major axis, approximately one and three-quarter miles long, lying north to south. The minor axis is about one mile long. The boundaries of the township as shown on a map of 1791, and its relationship with Leeds, Beeston and Holbeck can best be grasped by studying the accompanying map. The township as a whole lies on land which slopes very gently westwards from the River Aire. In the area abutting on Crag Flatts (Cross Flatts), Cadbeeston, Dewsbury Road, and Hunslet Woodhouse (Woodhouse Hill), the slope is, however, more pronounced, especially in the region of Beeston Hill. To-day, Hunslet is a busy part of Leeds, where much of the city's heavy industry is located. Engineering, chemicals, and glass making are all represented there: and locomotives and agricultural machinery made in Hunslet have found their way to many parts of the world.

The medieval village of Hunslet appears to have centred on *Penny Hill* and what is now *Church Street*: the location of the pound and stocks has been perpetuated in place names—*Stocks Hill* and *the Pinfold*. During the twelfth century, Hunslet Carr appears to have been settled, probably as the result of migration. To the north-west of the new settlement, on what is now part of Hunslet Moor, there is reputed to have been, in the nineteenth century, a marsh known as “the dancing pogs.” This marsh

is likely to have been quite a large one in the Middle Ages before alterations in the drainage pattern, occasioned by the Industrial Revolution, were made in the late eighteenth century. It is highly probable that the situation of this marsh, prevented the westward extention of the village. If this were so Hunslet Carr would probably be the most suitable site for a new settlement, as it was not too far removed from the village which would be accessible along the eastern edge of the marsh. A third settlement appears to have grown up in Hunslet Woodhouse as a result of possible assartation. It probably dates from the thirteenth century for the first mention of it occurs in 1259-76¹

The earliest map of the township shows that Hunslet was crossed by two streams which are no longer visible. They were the Dow and Balm Becks. Tradition claims that both these becks and the River Aire were once full of fine fish. The fisheries of Hunslet are mentioned as early as 1184² and as late as the nineteenth century the piscatorial activities of the township were commemorated by the existence of an ale-house called *The Fisherman's Hut*.

HUNSLET AND CADBEESTON-SOKELAND

The first recorded mention of Hunslet occurs in Domesday Book. The entry reads as follows:—

“Two Manors. In Beeston, Turstan and Morfare had six carucates of land for geld where four ploughs may be. Now Ilbert (de Lacy) has it and it is waste. T.R.E. it was worth forty shillings. Wood, pasturable, half a leuga in length and half in breadth.

Soke. In Hunslet there are six carucates of land for geld, where three ploughs may be. The soke is in Beeston. Eight villeins are there having three ploughs and six acres of meadow, wood, pasturable, five quarenteens in length and four in breadth.”³

Domesday Book reveals that prior to the Conquest, Beeston with its appendant settlement of Hunslet was held by two Anglians, Turstan and Morfare. Morfare was a not inconsiderable

¹ In the charter by which John Autrey transferred his estate in Hunslet and Cadbeeston to William Latimer.

² *Sallay Chart.*, ii., pp.65-6.

³ *D.B.*, i, p.318, Col. 1.

landowner in the district since he also held the manors of Halton, Snitterton (perhaps Potternewton), and Riston (almost certainly Holbeck and East Armley).

The two manors into which Domesday Beeston was divided were likely to have been those which at a later date came to be designated as Beeston (or Kirkbeeston), and Cadbeeston (or Catbeeston). Where the division between the two manors lay is a matter of conjecture, but it is probable that Cadbeeston consisted of those lands which adjoin Hunslet on the west as far north as the present Holbeck Moor. It is significant that on modern maps a small area known as Cadbeeston lies in Holbeck. Throughout the later Middle Ages Kirkbeeston was held by the family of Beeston.

Hunslet which was attached to the manor of Cadbeeston in the later Middle Ages was probably colonised from that manor in late Anglian times. The name *Hunslet* is Anglian in origin and signifies "*the stream of Hun*."⁴ The fact that the settlement was named after a natural feature suggests that it was only *after* the Anglians had been there long enough to name natural features. At the same time the fact that the name is Anglian suggests that it was settled and its name fossilised, *before* the Scandinavians had impressed their stamp upon the area.

The inter-relationship between Hunslet, Cadbeeston, and Holbeck during the later Middle Ages is enveloped in obscurity. Some of the difficulties disappear, however, if no attempt is made to interpret their organisation in conformity with the legal theory of the manor as imagined by mediæval jurists.

The Domesday record classifies Hunslet as sokeland, a type of manorial structure peculiar to the Danelaw, in which the greater part of the inhabitants was free from intimate seigniorial control. The implication inherent in this classification can only be rightly understood when considered in conjunction with the general history of Danelaw sokes in the post-conquest era.

During the period which preceded the Norman Conquest the men of the Danelaw had developed an Anglo-Danish form of society which proved capable of withstanding the shock of the Norman invasion. Not only did they escape the processes which, within a generation of the Conquest had placed the inhabitants of southern England under seigniorial control, but markedly

⁴ Ekwall: *Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names*, 2nd ed., p.245.

influenced the social organisation of the whole Danelaw territory during subsequent centuries. In view of this survival of pre-conquest institutions in the Danelaw it would, quoting Stenton, "be unwise to dismiss the soke of the Conqueror's day as an obsolescent estate destined for a speedy modification into something more nearly in agreement with the agrarian ideas of its new lords. These lords in general were quite content to let their men discharge their obligations through the organisation that had governed their predecessors. The soke survived because it was appropriate to the maintenance of a general relationship between lord and man, which still retained in the thirteenth century much of the character that had distinguished it in the eleventh."⁵

It would, however, be equally unwise to assume, without first carefully sifting the available evidence, that the organisation of Hunslet in the twelfth and thirteen centuries conformed closely to the general lines of development in those same centuries. That caution is necessary is due to two factors. When William devastated the north in 1069 he interrupted the continuity of pre-conquest development in the area, and consequently the peculiar features which distinguish the Danelaw in the following centuries cannot be considered, in the devastated areas, as the inevitable development of conditions prevailing prior to the Conquest. The other factor which tends to obscure the history of Hunslet in the post-conquest era is the wording of the Domesday record relating to Hunslet. Whilst the normal sokeland tenement was inhabited exclusively by sokemen, it was fairly common to find sokemen on sokeland along with villeins and bordars. It was, however, not so common to find sokeland on which no sokemen dwelt. This, nevertheless, was the case in Hunslet in 1086 when eight villeins are recorded as the sole tenants. The reason why the inhabitants of Hunslet were all classed as villeins is not easily explained. There is a considerable body of evidence in Domesday Book which suggests that the difference between sokemen and villeins rested not on facts of status but on facts of tenure. It was dependant on the distinction whether a man could or could not alienate his

⁵ Stenton F.M.: *Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*, p.cx.

land at will. It is possible to put forward other explanations.⁶ It may have been that the inhabitants of Hunslet were still sokemen owning the land on which they were seated, but described as a class lower than sokemen either because they were impoverished, possibly as a result of the devastation of the north in 1069, or because they were burdened with heavier dues. The easiest explanation is to regard this anomalous registration as an error of nomenclature.

To determine whether Hunslet retained its character as soke-land after Domesday it is necessary to know what were the distinguishing features of sokes during the same period. The accumulated evidence provided by twelfth century charters relating to the Danelaw suggests (a) That the men seated on sokeland had the right to alienate it at will; (b) That the tenants within a soke held their land by suit of court, and a money rent in lieu of the labour services and the dues in kind found elsewhere. The prevalence of a money economy in the soke explains the reason why so often in sokes grants in terms of "shillingsworth of rent," and of "penniesworth of rent" are to be met with. The evidence provided by twelfth and thirteenth century Hunslet charters,⁷ a very small number it must be said, suggests that the inhabitants of Hunslet, or at least those making grants, had the right to alienate their land at will: whilst references to foreign service, money rents, and grants in terms of "shillingsworth of rent" occur in these same charters. In the light of the evidence it seems safe to state that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Hunslet displayed the salient features of the normal, post-conquest, Danelaw soke. In one respect, however, Hunslet differed from the normal soke: in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was never attached to a typical *manerium*. It is this difference which tends to obscure its economic and social organisation. The parent manor appears to have adopted the organisation peculiar to its dependency. It is, therefore, often misleading to speak of the manor of Hunslet, and of the manor of Cadbeeston during these centuries. It is safer to speak of estates lying in Hunslet, in Cadbeeston, or in both. That a similar organisation operated in at least part of Holbeck is probable. Although these three

⁶ See Stenton: *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw*, pp.14-22.

⁷ See *Sally Chart.*, *ii*, pp.65-6.

settlements were not manors in the accepted sense of the term, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries certain rights, such as mill soke, appear to have been vested in one of the families holding an estate in Hunslet, Cadbeeston, and Holbeck.

HUNSLET A MEMBER OF THE HONOUR OF PONTEFRACT AND OF THE PAYNEL FEE.

In the Domesday record, Hunslet is described as lying in the Wapentake of Morley, and as being held by Ilbert de Lacy. In the eleventh century the Yorkshire fief of the Lacies was known as the Honour of Pontefract.⁸ The following century, however, saw the term extended to include not only the Domesday fief of Ilbert de Lacy in Yorkshire, but also his fiefs in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, and those lands he had held of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, in Lincolnshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire.⁹ In 1166 the honour was assessed at sixty knight's fees;¹⁰ and in 1210-12, Roger de Lacy owed the same number of knight's fees for the honour.¹¹

Before 1095, Robert de Lacy, the son of Ilbert mentioned in Domesday, had succeeded to his father's lands.¹² During the troubles of the disputed succession to the English Crown, consequent upon the death of Rufus, Robert de Lacy appears to have favoured Duke Robert's claim. Though his support of Robert's claim seems to have been half-hearted, yet his estates were taken into the king's hands where they remained until Robert de Lacy's reconciliation with the king after the Battle of Tinchebrai.¹³ Farrer notes the presence of Robert de Lacy in England in the year 1109,¹⁴ but before the Lindsey Survey was made in 1115-18, he had been banished and his honour granted to Hugh de Laval who held it until his death in 1129-30. Then William Maltravers proffered a thousand marks for the reversion of the honour, one hundred pounds for permission to marry Hugh's wife, to hold all Hugh's lands for fifteen years and after that term for the lady's

⁸ For Ilbert de Lacy's holdings in Yorks. at Domesday see *V.C.H. Yorks.* ii, pp.243-52.

⁹ *E.Y.C.*, iii, p.125.

¹⁰ *Red Book*, p.421.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.490. ¹² *E.Y.C.* iii, p.124.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.148. ¹⁴ *Ibid.*

dowry and marriage portion.¹⁵ Four years later Maltravers was murdered by Paganus, or Payn,¹⁶ one of his vassal knights. This opened the way for the restoration of the Lacies to at least two-thirds of their ancient holding, which took place shortly after the accession of Stephen.¹⁷ The honour remained with Ilbert, elder son of Robert de Lacy, until the Battle of Lincoln where Ilbert fought on Stephen's side; after which he is not heard of again.

It has been often stated that at this time the Honour of Pontefract was granted to William de Romare, Earl of Lincoln, but the statement appears to be unfounded and was probably due to confusion with Gilbert de Gant who was created Earl of Lincoln by Stephen in 1147 apparently during the lifetime of the other Earl of Lincoln. It was Gilbert de Gant who disputed Henry de Lacy's right to the Honour of Pontefract, perhaps because his sister had been the wife of Ilbert de Lacy. The claim was settled by a resort to armed conflict which left Henry de Lacy in possession.

On Stephen's death, the new king not only confirmed Henry de Lacy in his possession of the Honour of Pontefract, but together with his mother, pardoned the Lacies for having supported Stephen.¹⁸ The honour remained in the hands of the direct descendants of the Domesday Ilbert until Henry de Lacy's son, Robert, died without issue in 1193-4.

Although with Robert's death the direct male line died out, the Honour of Pontefract was not lost to the Lacy blood, as Roger Fitz-Eustace, heir of the female line, assumed the name Lacy and succeeded to Robert's lands in 1194.¹⁹ This Roger "de Lacy," who was Constable of Chester, was followed in 1212 by his son John,²⁰ the first of the name of Lacy to assume the title, Earl of Lincoln, which he did in 1232, in right of his wife.

¹⁵ E.Y.C. iii, p.143.

The honour of Pontefract, held for sixty knight's fees, appears to have been divided, probably on Hugh Laval's death two-thirds going to Hugh's wife as marriage portion, and one-third to Hugh's son Guy. (*Pontefract Chart.*, i. p.xix). The twenty (minus two) knight's fees held by Guy de Laval were in the hands of Wido de Laval in 1166. (*Red Book*, p.423). They were still part of the Laval fief in 1199 when Roger de Lacy claimed them and proffered 500 marks for possession. He did not receive them, however, until shortly before April 1205, in consequence of Guy de Laval's defection in December 1202. (E.Y.C. iii, pp.199-200).

¹⁶ E.Y.C. iii, p.183.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.185.

¹⁸ E.Y.C. iii, pp.147, 148-9.

¹⁹ For full accounts of his descent see *Complete Peerage*, vii, p.676. (*Pontefract Chart.*, i, pp.xxii-xxv).

²⁰ *Complete Peerage*, vii, p.676.

It is convenient at this point to return to the eleventh and twelfth centuries in order to trace the descent of a fief of the Honour of Pontefract in the neighbourhood of Leeds, known as the Paynel Fee, to 1230 when it escheated to the Lacies. Before the end of the eleventh century, some of Ilbert de Lacy's Yorkshire fief in the neighbourhood of Leeds had been subinfeudated to Ralph Paynel,²¹ probably on the occasion of his marriage to either a daughter or sister of Ilbert.²² The holding was assessed at one and a half knight's fees, and in 1166 was held from Henry de Lacy by Robert de Gant.²³ The fee appears to have comprised Leeds, Hunslet, Beeston, and Holbeck.

By 1147, William the representative of the second generation of the Paynels was dead, leaving no male heirs.²⁴ He did have, however, a daughter, Alice, by his second wife Avice de Meschin. King Stephen seems to have given Alice in marriage, together with her inheritance, first to Richard de Curci, and on his death (prior to 1153), to Robert de Gant.²⁵ By 1180 Alice was dead, leaving an heiress, Avice, her daughter by Robert de Gant. Avice married as her second husband Robert (son of Robert son of Harding) a younger brother of Maurice de Berkeley. In 1182 Robert rendered account of five hundred marks and a gold cup for having Avice as his wife; and ten years later he offered sixty marks for having the inheritance of his wife for the use of any sons he had by her. His death occurred shortly afterwards, and his son and heir, Maurice, being a minor, was placed together with the Paynel (now Gant fee) in the wardship of William de Sainte Mère Eglise, whose ward he remained until 1200, and possibly later.²⁶ Maurice de Gant's public career does not concern us here, except in so far as his adherence to the baronial party opposed to King John led to the temporary forfeiture of his lands which were granted to Philip d'Aubigny;²⁷ and

²¹ Ralph Paynel's first charter to the Priory of Holy Trinity, York (*Mon. Ang.* iv, p.682) proves this.

²² *E.Y.C.* vi, p. 4.

²³ *Red. Book*, p.424.

²⁴ *E.Y.C.* vi, p.31.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.33, p.170.

²⁶ For more detailed information concerning Robert son of Robert son of Harding see *E.Y.C.* vi, pp.34-5. Information concerning Maurice de Gant's wardship is to be found here also.

²⁷ *E.Y.C.* vi, p.35.

in 1217 his surrender of Leeds to the Earl of Chester as ransom after the Battle of Lincoln. When Leeds was handed over to the Earl of Chester in 1217, Hunslet and Cadbeeston were not included in the transaction.²⁸

In 1230, when Maurice de Gant died without heirs, that part of the Gant fee which comprised Hunslet and Cadbeeston escheated to John de Lacy as the tenant in chief. Hereafter Hunslet was, until 1612, absorbed into the Honour of Pontefract, and its fortunes are those of the honour, the story of which must now be resumed.

The Honour of Pontefract remained with the male descendants of John de Lacy until 1310-11 when there was a failure of male heirs. Two matters of importance, the first to the historian the second to history, occurred during the lifetime of Henry de Lacy, the last male of his line. The first was the holding of Kirkby's Inquest in the record of which, Hunslet is described as one of the "twenty-five and a half vills which Henry de Lacy holds from the king as a tenant in chief."²⁹ The second was the arrangement made by Henry de Lacy for the disposal of his lands after his death. In 1292 he had resigned his estates into the king's hands and received them back on new terms.³⁰ They were to remain to him and the heirs of his body, with remainder to Edmund Crouchback, the Earl of Lancaster, and his heirs, with reversion to the King.

In accordance with the terms of this agreement, Alice de Lacy, Henry's daughter, succeeded her father to the Honour of Pontefract. She was at that time married to Thomas, the Earl of Lancaster. When Thomas' implication in the rising against the Despensers cost him his head, his lands were seized. The Honour of Pontefract, however, was left to his wife, for he had only enjoyed it in her right. Shortly afterwards, however, Alice de Lacy appears to have forfeited her estates (some of them only temporarily) because she had married Ebulo le Strange without

²⁸ In 1242-3 the Earl of Lincoln was stated to be holding "one knight's fee of the Gant fee." That fee was almost certainly Leeds. It became detached from Hunslet and Cadbeeston in 1217 and for that reason it was in 1242-3 quoted as a separate holding although Hunslet and Beeston were also at that time in the hands of the Earl of Lincoln. (*Book of Fees*, p.1102).

²⁹ *Feudal Aids*, vi, p.17.

³⁰ *C. Inq.*, xi, p.97.

obtaining the king's licence. Some of these estates were given to the Despensers. On February 1st, 1327, the castle and borough of Pontefract were granted to Queen Isabella for her support, and she is said to have held them until the death of Alice de Lacy in 1348.

Sometime shortly after 1327 Edward the Third appears to have introduced his queen into the hierarchy of feudal officials between himself and the tenants in chief, for in 1341 she is found in possession of the Wapentakes of Morley, Skyrack and others in the West Riding of Yorkshire.³¹

The Honour of Pontefract subsequently passed by default to the descendants of Edmund Crouchback, as agreed in 1292. After the death of Edward the Second, the attainder against the late Earl of Lancaster, the husband of Alice de Lacy, had been reversed by Parliament, and his lands and titles were conferred on his brother Henry.³² It was Henry's son, also named Henry, who, in 1348 on the death of Alice de Lacy obtained possession of the Lacy lands. He was then raised successively to the Earldom of Lincoln and the Dukedom of Lancaster.³³ Although the title became extinct on his death without male heirs in 1360, his daughters Maude and Blanche inherited his lands. As Maude died childless, the whole estate passed to John of Gaunt who had married Blanche. The Earldom was again raised to a Dukedom, and as such it passed to John's eldest son, Henry Bolingbroke: and when Henry ascended the throne as Henry the Fourth, the Duchy of Lancaster, and consequently the Honour of Pontefract, was vested in the Crown.

Hunslet remained a member of the Duchy of Lancaster until 1612 when it was sold to Sir Philip Carey, to be held in common socage in "the manor of East Greenwich," a common formula in the seventeenth century for lands held directly of the Crown, but not "in chief" with all that that might imply.

LANDHOLDERS IN HUNSLET AND THEIR ESTATES

In the twelfth century Hunslet, Cadbeeston, and possibly Holbeck, were held by the family of Alta Ripa or Awtrey (or Dawtrey, Dautre, de Hauterive). A reference to an estate there

³¹ C.P.R. 1340-43 pp.180-1.

³² V. C. H. Lancs., II, p.201.

³³ Complete Peerage, vii, p.688.

in the hands of a member of the family in 1154 is made in a charter of 1184. Since the Awtreys are not returned in 1166 by Robert de Gant as of new enfeoffment, they were probably landowners in Hunslet and Cadbeeston before 1135. The holding appears to have been assessed at half a knight's fee; and the Awtreys were very probably the first resident feoffees. The estate was no doubt one of the two manors into which Beeston was divided in 1086.

The first recorded member of the family to hold the fee was William Awtrey who witnessed a charter of Henry de Lacy to Kirkstall Abbey before 1153,³⁴ and a second one by Adam son of Peter (de Birkin) to Rievaulx Abbey in 1150-60.³⁵ William also held land in Manby, Lincolnshire. His estate in Manby he granted to his son Anthony by a charter in which he mentions Peter as his heir.³⁶ Probaby William was also the brother of Robert Awtrey who was joint holder of half a knight's fee with William Payne in 1166, and a tenant of William Payne in Cookridge.³⁷ He is noticed in 1166 when together with Ralph de Beston he was amerced by the Court of Morley Wapentake for the concealment of a crown plea.³⁸ He was still alive in 1175 when he notified the Bishop of Lincoln of a gift to Gokewell Priory which he had made with the counsel of his heirs and Juetta his wife.³⁹ By 1184, however, he was dead and had been succeeded by Peter, who by a charter to which reference has already been made enfeoffed his brother Philip of lands he had held in Hunslet as early as 1154, "Doing the service of the fourth part of half a knight."⁴⁰ Another brother, Anthony, the same who had been granted Manby by William, married Sybil. One of his sons, Philip, committed a murder, the consequences of which he escaped by going on a crusade.⁴¹ Another son, Richard, who was married to Maud, was shortly before 1207 holding one and a half carucates of land in Hunslet which had belonged either to his father or to his uncle Philip. In 1207 Richard leased to the monks of Fountains, his estate in Hunslet for a period of ten years at a yearly rent of

³⁴ *Kirkstall Coucher*, p.50

³⁵ *E.Y.C.* vi, p.202.

³⁶ *E.Y.C.* vi, pp.206-7.

³⁷ *E.Y.C.* vi, p.202.

³⁸ *E.Y.C.* iii, p.281.

³⁹ *E.Y.C.* vi, p.202.

⁴⁰ *E.Y.C.* iii, pp.283-4.

⁴¹ *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre*, 1218-19, p.263-4.

three marks " for all service and everything pertaining to the land except foreign service as much as pertains to six oxigangs of land in Huneslet where twelve carucates make a knight's fee.⁴² His father was evidently dead, for by the same charter he arranges for the monks to take over his mother's dower, a carucate of land in Hunslet, if she should die during the same period.

It is reasonable to suppose that his mother died shortly afterwards for in 1208 we find the Abbot of Fountains and Maurice de Gant disputing a carucate of land in Hunslet.⁴³ The monks paid Richard eighteen marks in advance and soon afterwards he sold his interest in Hunslet to Roger de Lacy, Constable of Chester, for two hundred marks.⁴⁴

It is not clear when Peter Awtrey II succeeded his father Peter Awtrey I to the lordship of Hunslet and Cadbeeston, but it was certainly before 1232, for in that year Peter II is found disputing twelve bovates of land in Beeston and six bovates in Hunslet with his nephew Peter son of Hugh.⁴⁵ The absence of any reference to Peter Awtrey II in the Pontefract Feodary may perhaps be taken to indicate that he succeeded his father before 1230 when the Gant fee in the neighbourhood of Leeds reverted to the Lacies as tenants in chief on the extinction of the mesne tenancy.

Peter Awtrey II appears to have taken part in the de Lacy inquisition of 1259, but the date of his death is uncertain. He was succeeded by his son, John, who, sometime before 1276, when William Latimer was arraigned by the Abbot of Kirkstall touching a tenement in Cadbeeston,⁴⁶ granted to William Latimer his estates together with "the homage and service of Lord John de Ewys and Cecile his wife, the homage and service of Richard Awtrey of Holbeck, and of John Hay of Hunslet, and of Ralph of Kirkstall in Hunslet Woodhouse; and the service of the land which Roger of Lyversedge holds in Hunslet; and the homage and service of Ralph of Pudsey and Matilda his wife for holdings in Beeston."⁴⁷

⁴² Duchy of Lancaster Great Coucher, i.f. 183, no. 79 (K.M.).

⁴³ *Curia Regis Rolls*, v., p.158.

⁴⁴ Duchy of Lancaster Great Coucher, i.f. 183, nos. 76, 77. (K.M.).

⁴⁵ *Yorkshire Fines* 1232-1246, p.4.

The dispute was settled by Peter son of Hugh, waiving all right to the lands in Beeston, and agreeing to hold the Hunslet lands from Peter II "rendering yearly one pair of gilt spurs, or sixpence at Easter, for all save forinsec service."

⁴⁶ Lancaster's Yorks. Coll., iii, p.27.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p.54.

Although the Awtrey family had relinquished its rights of lordship in Hunslet and Cadbeeston, members of the family appear to have continued to live there as tenants. In 1302-3 William and Robert Awtrey each held five bovates of land there.⁴⁸ William is noticed again in 1329, and Robert as late as 1347. In a list of Latimer tenants in the latter year, however, John Awtrey, chaplain, who held four bovates which William of Woodhouse had held in 1302-3, was the only member of the family recorded as still holding land in Hunslet.⁴⁹ Another member of the family who was noticed in the first half of the fourteenth century, was Thomas, who in 1306-7 had to find pledges for his future good conduct. In 1333 Thomas had stolen forty shillings from the house of Emma de Walton at Nostel Priory. In 1335 he had received a royal pardon for his good services in the wars against the Scots.⁵⁰ In the second half of the fourteenth century, John Awtrey, the chaplain, appears to have been the family's sole representative in Hunslet. In August 1377 he was admitted by Abbot John "to partake of the prayers and good works of the monks of Sallay, and a mass to be continually said for him and his relatives."⁵¹ Two years later the Poll Tax return recorded John Awtrey as paying the peasant's groat.⁵²

A second important Hunslet family during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was that of the Hays who prospered in direct proportion to the decline of the Awtreys.

The earliest reference to the family appears in 1218 when Richard de Haya is recorded as having fallen from a colt upon a knife which inflicted fatal injuries.⁵³ In 1227, Richard Hay who was probably his son, permitted the monks of Sallay to use part of his land in Hunslet when they were repairing the mill ponds;⁵⁴ and in 1273-4 John Hay took part in the Inquisition post mortem of Gilbert de Gant. This same John is named as a landholder at the time of the sale of the Awtrey estate to the Latimers. In 1302-3 William Hay held five bovates of land in Hunslet which

⁴⁸ *Feudal Aids*, vi, p.128.

⁴⁹ *Lancaster's Yorks. Coll.*, iii, p.132.

⁵⁰ *Bailldon: Bailldon and the Baillonds*, iii, p.76.

⁵¹ *Sallay Chart.*, ii, pp.65-6.

⁵² *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vi, pp.302-3.

⁵³ *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre* 1218-19, p.213.

⁵⁴ *Sallay Chart.*, ii, pp.72-3.

had been Isolda Hay's.⁵⁵ In 1347 five bovates were held by Miles Hay, who was probably William's son. William appears to have been a man of substance, for in 1313, he was not only given permission by Archbishop Greenfield to hold divine service in an oratory in Hunslet, but was described as lord of the manor.⁵⁶ By the end of the fourteenth century there is no doubt that Hugh Hay was one of the biggest landowners in Hunslet and Cadbeeston.

During the later Middle Ages it was no uncommon thing for parcels of land to be acquired by persons not normally resident on the manor, and in this respect Hunslet was no exception. In 1184 Peter Awtrey I granted to William Vavasour of Bolton and Hazelwood, the King's Justice in the West Riding, the mill of Hunslet and Beeston together with six shillingsworth of rent "from the land which was Serlo the miller's," "Walding's in Kerra (Hunslet Carr)", and "Leviva the widow's in Kerra." He was to allow Peter to have his corn ground there "free of multure" in return for an undertaking by Peter to keep the mill in good repair.⁵⁷ That Peter failed to keep his part of the agreement is proved by a law suit of 1202.⁵⁸ About the same date Peter granted to Mauger Vavasour, William's heir, half a carucate of land in Hunslet, two bovates of which were held by Ralph the blacksmith, and two by Jordan the son of Ulkil;⁵⁹ and before 1207 Richard Awtrey granted him "a toft in Hunesflet which was Edwin's," for a yearly payment of one pound of pepper.⁶⁰

A second absentee landlord was Robert of Flamborough who died in or shortly before 1246. An inquisition post mortem of that year revealed that he held sixteen bovates of land in Hunslet, half an acre of meadow, and a toft of the Earl of Lincoln by foreign service pertaining to one-ninth of a knight's fee.⁶¹ It is very probable that Robert of Flamborough, who had married, Alice, daughter and heiress of Raidulf, a part owner of the manor of Liversedge, was holding this estate in Hunslet during the early

⁵⁵ *Feudal Aids*, vi, p.128.

⁵⁶ *Archbishop Greenfield's Register* ii, p.163.

⁵⁷ *Sallay Chart.* ii, pp.65-6.

⁵⁸ *Pedes Finium Ebor Regnante Johannes A.D. 1199-1214*, pp.56-7.

⁵⁹ *Sallay Chart.* ii, p.68.

⁶⁰ *Sallay Chart.* ii, p.71.

⁶¹ *Cal. Inq. Henry III*, p.291.

part of the reign of Henry III for during that period he witnessed a charter of William Stanhus of Hunslet, and was in receipt of a pound of pepper from the same William for a toft in Hunslet.⁶² Robert of Flamborough was succeeded by his son, Roger, and in 1246 the High Sheriff of Yorkshire was commanded to receive the homage of Roger on the same terms as his father, on behalf of the Lacy heir who was a minor in the king's custody.⁶³ That Roger was still holding his Hunslet lands when the manor was sold to William Latimer is proved by the mention of Roger of Liversege in the deed of sale. Whether the holding was transferred first to his heir, Robert of Liversege, noticed in 1280 and consequently to Sir Edward Neville of Hornby Castle, Lancashire, through the marriage of Roger's granddaughter Isolda or Isota is uncertain, but very probable in the light of later evidence; for Robert son of Robert Passelawe held lands in Hunslet at the end of the fourteenth century which may have come into his possession through the marriage of Joan Neville, a sister of Sir Thomas Neville who married the Gascoigne heiress, with Thomas Passe-lawe of Riddlesden.

The Latimer holding in Hunslet and Cadbeeston dates, as we have seen, from shortly before 1276. Whether the first member of the family to hold the estate was William le Latimer of Scampton, Yorks. (who was Sheriff of Yorks. in 1254-60, and again in 1266, and also Escheator North of the Trent from 1258), or his son William the first Baron Latimer is uncertain.⁶⁴ Lord Latimer I, held lands in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire to the value of forty pounds. He accompanied the future King Edward I to the Holy Land, and on his return he went first to Spain, and then abroad with the King's brother. His absence from England from 1270-6 suggests that Hunslet may have been sold by John Awtrey prior to this date. William played a full part in Edward's Welsh and Scottish wars. Shortly before his death in 1304, he was recorded as holding in Hunslet "three carucates of land where fourteen (or twenty four?) make a knight's fee."⁶⁵ Baron Latimer II, whom the *Nomina Villarum* quoted as being lord of Hunslet,⁶⁶ played an equally important part in national affairs.

⁶² *Sallay Chart. ii*, p.72.

⁶³ *Excerpta e Rot. Fin. ii*, p.1.

⁶⁴ For detailed sources for information concerning Latimers see *Complete Peerage*, vii, pp. 460 et seqq.

⁶⁵ *Feudal Aids*, vi, p.128.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p.200.

He was taken prisoner at the Battle of Bannockburn. Later he became involved in the Earl of Lancaster's rebellion; but having received a royal pardon he fought on the king's side at Boroughbridge. He died in 1326-7 leaving as his heir, William, his son by his first wife Lucia de Thwenge, and a second son, Thomas, by his second wife, Sibil, the widow of William de Huntingfield.

William, Baron Latimer III who died in 1335, appears to have granted a life interest in Hunslet and Cadbeeston to his brother Thomas whom we find in 1334 granting to the monks of Kirkstall for a term of three years two parcels of meadow in Cadbeeston called *Le Frithwellsyke* and *Le Southeygne*.⁶⁷ Thomas le Latimer was still lord of Hunslet and Cadbeeston in 1347,⁶⁸ but he was evidently dead in 1355 for in that year his nephew, William Baron Latimer IV, paid a relief of forty shillings on succeeding to half a knight's fee in Hunslet and Cadbeeston.⁶⁹ His position as lord of Hunslet is confirmed in the following year.⁷⁰ Like his predecessors, he was a national figure; and in 1346 he fought by the side of the Black Prince at Crecy although he was only about sixteen years old. Later he was appointed Keeper of the Forests North of the Trent, Steward of the King's Household, and Constable of Dover and Warden of the Cinque Ports. He was in high favour with John of Gaunt and his prestige fell and rose again with that of his protector. He died in 1381. Sometime in 1356-81 William disposed of his Hunslet estates probably to Sir William Elmham (of Norfolk) for in 1381 Sir William sold his manor of Cadbeeston and Hunslet to "John de Roma of Monkesfreton."⁷¹ Thoresby identified Monkesfreton with Monk Fryston,⁷² but it is equally likely to have been Monk Bretton or Burton, also in Yorkshire. In 1401-2 John Rome was paying ten shillings for "half a knight's fee in Cadbeeston and Hunslet forming part of the Gant fee and lately held by William Latimer."⁷³ That the family of Rome had succeeded to the Latimer estates in Hunslet and Cadbeeston in full is confirmed

⁶⁷ Lancaster's Yorks. Coll., ii, p.29. In 1327-8 Thomas Latimer brought an action of account against his bailiff in Cadbeeston. (Lists and indexes, 32, 774).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, iii, p.132.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, iv, p.82.

⁷⁰ Beckwith M.S., p.9.

⁷¹ C.C.R., 1381-85, p.110.

⁷² Thoresby: *Ducatus*, p.214.

⁷³ *Feudal Aids*, vi, p.600.

by a rental of the manor of Leeds in 1425⁷⁴ where Peter de Rome is recorded as holding "the manor of Cadbeeston by the service of one knight's fee and suit of court from three weeks to three (weeks), and renders yearly of white ferm 5s. payable to the Bailiff of the Liberty." The preceding extract is a duplicate of a similar extract in an earlier rental of Leeds dated 1341,⁷⁵ when the Latimer family still held lands in Hunslet and Cadbeeston. The inclusion in a Leeds rental of payments by the holders of the manor of Cadbeeston was probably accounted for by convenience in the collection of dues. The family of Rome continued to hold the estate until 1510 when it was sold.⁷⁶

During the last decade of the fourteenth century and the early part of the fifteenth, Richard Gascoigne who was brother to the celebrated judge, William Gascoigne, was building up an estate in Hunslet and Cadbeeston. In 1392, Robert, son of Robert Passelawe of Potternewton, quitclaimed to Henry Ellis, William Gascoigne and his brother Richard, "12 acres of land in Hunslet called the Erberflat, 3 acres of meadow called *the Redyng*, and 7 acres of land upon *Elynshawflat*."⁷⁷ In 1403-4 Richard Gascoigne purchased from Hugh Hay and Margaret his wife, 8 messuages, 6 tofts, 3 carucates of land, 20 acres of meadow, and 6 acres of wood in Hunslet and Cadbeeston⁷⁸ and from William de Rockyngham and Margery his wife "Miles manor of ye Hay" and "Inglesmaner of the hay."⁷⁹ As a result of these purchases Richard Gascoigne is recorded in the Comptus of the Pontefract Feodary for 1403-4 as holding "half a knight's fee in Cadbeeston and Hunslet of the Gant fee."⁸⁰ In 1410 he acquired further lands in Cadbeeston from John de Suthworth and his wife,⁸¹ and in 1421 lands in Leeds and Hunslet from John Goweshill, armiger, and Alice his wife;⁸² whilst a fifteenth century rental of Rothwell indicates that he had acquired in

⁷⁴ *Thoresby Misc.*, vii, p.11

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, x, p.85.

⁷⁶ See account of Romes in *Thoresby Misc.*, vii.

⁷⁷ *C.C.R.* 1389-92, p.508.

⁷⁸ *Lancaster's Yorks. Coll.*, iii, p.106.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* pp.102, 108-9: *C.C.R.* 1402-5, p.508.

The Rockyngham interest in Hunslet may date from 1307-8 when William, Baron Latimer II received the custody of Rockingham Castle. The evidence suggests that the term *manor* and *estate* were synonymous in Hunslet and Cadbeeston.

⁸⁰ *Lancaster's Yorks. Coll.*, iv, p. 169.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, iii, p.109.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.104.

Knostrop (Rotherwell not Leeds) "an acre of land for a windmill to be placed thereon within the lordship of Hunsflete."⁸³

Richard Gascoigne's presence in the district was obviously resented by the Rome family, for in 1407 a commission was issued to arrest Peter de Rome and John his brother the elder, William his brother, and John his brother the younger, and bring them before the king in Chancery to find security that they would not harm Richard Gascoigne.⁸⁴ Richard's son, Thomas Gascoigne, was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University in 1439, and Chancellor in 1442, and again in 1443-5.⁸⁵ In his book *Loci e Libro Veritatum*,⁸⁶ Thomas stated that he was the son of Richard Gascoigne and Beatrice (who is now said to have been one of the coheiresses of Henry Ellis of Kiddall) (p.31), and that he was born in Hunslet in 1403 (p.192). He went to Oxford at the age of thirteen (p.xviii), became a Master of Divinity in 1423 (ibid) and a Doctor of Divinity in 1434 (ibid). He stated also that he had a sister who became Lady Ros (p.279) and a second sister who married Sir Thomas Neville (p.202). This second sister, Alice, together with her husband, became possessed of Hunslet on the death of her father before April, 1423, when his will was proved.⁸⁷ Since Richard named his son Thomas as his heir, Hunslet was probably Alice Gascoigne's dowry. Sir Thomas Neville of Hunslet and Liversege died at Hunslet and was buried in Leeds Parish Church, although by his will dated June, 1421 and proved May 1438, it seems that he had wished to be buried at Birstall. A tablet recording his decease is said to have been destroyed by Parliamentary forces in the seventeenth century.⁸⁸ He left everything to his wife who survived him for over forty years.

During the fifteenth century it seems that Hunslet Hall was frequently occupied. Lady Alice was twice granted an oratory there,⁸⁹ and in 1454 Archbishop Booth allowed Robert Neville and his wife to have an oratory for a year in Liversege and Hunslet which was renewed for three years and probably for similar periods

⁸³ *Thoresby Misc.*, vii, p.292.

⁸⁴ *Thoresby Misc.* vii, p.7.

⁸⁵ *D.N.B.* xxi, p.42: *Test. Ebor.* i, p.403, footnote.

⁸⁶ *Loci e Libro Veritatum*: ed. Thorold Rogers (1881).

⁸⁷ *Test. Ebor.* i, p.403.

⁸⁸ Peel: *Spen Valley Past and Present*, p.85.

⁸⁹ *Test. Ebor.* iii, p.244 footnote.

until his son, Sir John, received a permanent licence or at least for his life.⁹⁰ In his will, Sir John refers to "the vessels belonging to my chapel in Hunslet."⁹¹

A passage in the will of Lady Alice suggests that she had a kindly nature, for she entreats her grandson Sir John Neville, "that he trewly whilst he lyves, gyff those ii howses in Holbeck that I bygged to ii pore women, in his prymary gyft to charge thame that they pray daily for me and all my goode doars. And when one woman dyes to put in another woman, but put in no man. And that he paye or make to be payed to thame xijs. iiijd. every yere . . ."⁹² In a survey of the manor in 1570⁹³ the alms houses are mentioned. It appears that the rent of a piece of land called *Park Close* provided the thirteen and fourpence, whilst a further four shillings from a "cottage and garden in Holbeck" was used in connection with the charity.

Sir Robert Neville, the eldest son of Sir Thomas and Lady Neville, married the daughter of Sir Robert Molyneux of Sefton, Lancs. They had a large family, and the marriages of the daughters illustrates how wide the influence of the family was spread. Alice married Mr. Soothill of Soothill Hall, Batley; Helen married Mr. Lacy of Cromwell Bottom; Beatrice married Mr. Bannister of Wortley; Jane married Mr. Burdett of Derby; Elizabeth married Mr. Richard Beaumont of Whitley; Maud married Mr. Passelawe of Riddlesden; Joyce married Mr. Rishworth of Coley; and Margery married Ralph Beeston of Beeston. Sir Robert Neville appears to have refrained from any sort of intervention in the Wars of the Roses thereby preserving his estates intact. The grant of an oratory in 1472 to his son may perhaps be taken to indicate that Sir Robert was then dead.

Sir John Neville married Matilda or Maud, daughter of Sir Robert Ryther of Ryther, by whom he had four sons, the youngest of whom was the founder of the Nevilles of Chevet. He appears to have been twice High Sheriff of Yorkshire. Of his son and heir, little is known save that he married Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Sheffield of Butterwick, Lincolnshire. He may have died at Hunslet for he was buried in Leeds Parish Church in 1499, thus predeceasing his father who evidently died in 1502. The inquisi-

⁹⁰ Cradock H. C.: *A History of the Ancient Parish of Birstall*, p.42.

⁹¹ *Thoresby Misc.* vii, pp.308-9. ⁹² *Test. Ebor.* iv, pp.244—5.

⁹³ Exchequer King's Remembrancer, *Misc. Books* vol. 38 (K.M.).

tion post mortem on Sir John's estate which took place later in the same year,⁹⁴ recorded that he held "one hundred and twenty acres of land, meadow and pasture in Huncelet worth £20, held of the abbot of the monastery of St. Mary the Virgin of Furness, by Fealty and 12d. rent;" and in Cadbeeston he held, "six messuages, 130 acres of land, meadow, and pasture worth 40 marks, held of the abbot of St. Mary the Virgin of Fountains by homage and 5s. rent."⁹⁵

Sir John's wife, Lady Maud, survived her husband, and by her will dated Dec. 22, 1505, and proved ———,⁹⁶ she directed "that Sir Walter Harper, preste should have for his lyfe the profettes of the house near Rothwell church stede called Chapman houce, upholding thereof a lamp in Bristall Church dayly brynnynge over my husband and me."

Sir John Neville was succeeded by his grandson, Robert, the son of Thomas Neville. The inquisition following Sir John's death described Robert as a boy of tender years. Later Sir Robert Neville married Hellen, daughter of Sir John Townley, of Townley Lanes., by whom he had issue, John who succeeded him, Henry, and several daughters. In 1541 he was Sheriff of Yorkshire, and his death followed shortly afterwards. The inquisition post mortem on his estates, dated 7th April 1543,⁹⁷ indicated that he held in Hunslet four messuages and 120 acres of pasture and meadow of the king as of the monastery of Fountains for the twenty-fourth part of a knight's fee and one pound of pepper valued at 12d. Sir Robert's will contained references to estates held in Cadbeeston and Holbeck.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ *C. Ing.* Henry VII, vol. ii, pp.424-5.

⁹⁵ This passage must be read in conjunction with Sir Robert's inquisition p.m., and the survey of Sir John's estates in 1570, in any attempt to explain it. In 1336 Fountains held three tofts and three acres of land in Hunslet near the Aire, yielding 5s. There appears not to be in any printed source a licence for an alienation, nor does the *Valor Ecc.* mention any interest of Furness in Hunslet or Cadbeeston.

⁹⁶ *Test. Ebor.* iv, pp. 241—2. ⁹⁷ Lancaster's Yorks. Coll., iii, p.142.

⁹⁸ *Test. Leo4*, i, pp.70-2. The relevant passage reads as follows:—"Also I give to Robert Nevell my sone—the terme of yeres of all those landes and tenements in Holbecke which I bought of Christopher Atkynson which landes and tenements were latele taken by the said Christopher and others of the late prior and convent of the suppressed monastery of the Holie Trinitie of Yorke for a terme of yeres.—Also I give my sone and here apparent my take of Catbeiston which I have taken of Monoxe [Monoux bought the Rome estate in Cadbeeston] of London paygne the yerlie rent accostomed to the said Monox."

Sir John Neville, the heir, was recorded in his father's inquisition post mortem, as being twenty-six years old. He was married twice, first to Dorothy, daughter of Sir Christopher Danby, and secondly to Beatrice, daughter of Henry Broome, who appears to have been a lady's companion to Sir John's first wife.⁹⁹ Sir John had in all ten children, two of whom were sons, Robert and Matthew, and the rest probably girls. He was in high favour at court in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, and in 1560 he was appointed High Sheriff of Yorkshire. He appears to have spent more of his time at Liversege Hall than his predecessors, making it in fact, his principal residence.¹⁰⁰ There is evidence that Sir John lived in considerable state, and the weddings of two of his daughters, Elizabeth and Mary Neville appear to have been celebrated with lavish outlay.¹⁰¹ Among the items for Elizabeth's wedding are listed "20 yds. of Russett Sattin for kirtles at 8/0d. per yd.; Two mantils of skins for the bridegroom, £2-8.; Two yards and a half of black velvet for his gown, 30/0d.; nine yards of black sattin for his jackett and doublett, 8/0d. per yard; a bonnet of black velvet, 15/0d.; a frontlett to the said bonnett, 12/0d.; Twenty-two yds. of tawney camblet, 2/4d.; seven yards of yellow sattin bridge at 2/6d. a yard." The wedding festivities lasted for a week and the following were consumed: "3 hogsheads of wine, and eight quarters of malt brewed into ale; 2 oxen at 30/0d. each; 2 brawnes, 11/0d.; swans, 15/0d.; cranes, 9 for 10/0d.; peacocks 12 for 1/4d.; great pike, 6 for 5/0d.; conies, 21 dozen, £5/5.; venison, red deerhinds, 3 for 10/0d.; fallow deer does, 12 (no price); capons of grease 72 for 72/0d.; mallards and teal, 31 doz. for £3/11/8d.; 3 lambs, 1/4d.; heron sewes, 2 doz. for 24/0; shorelard, 2 doz. for 24/0d.; byttens, 12 for 16/0d.; pheasants, 18 for 24/0d.; curlews, 18 for 24/0d.; plovers, 3 doz. for 5/0d.; 1 seal, 13/4d.; 1 porpoise, 13/4d." Expenses of this order may explain the reason for Sir John's sale in 1561-2 of property lying in Knostrop, Leeds, Heckmondwike, Scoles, Cleckheaton, Popplewell, Bingley, Morton, Pressthorpe, Kellington, Bighill, Egburge, and Smeton.¹⁰²

Two incidents in Sir John's life suggest that he was rash, impulsive, and easily swayed by characters stronger than his own.

⁹⁹ Peel: *Spen Valley Past and Present*, p.92.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p.92.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* pp.92-4.

¹⁰² *Fines for the Tudor Period*, 1, p.257.

In 1551, acting under the influence of John Batt, one of a family infamous for its unscrupulousness, he seized, without any legal right, the infant heiress of the Rayners of Liversege Place, one of two manors into which Liversege was divided, and diverted the rents of her estate to his own use until such time as the pressure of the law forced him to restore them to the rightful heiress.¹⁰³ In 1569, inspired by Christopher Danby of Beeston who was considered by his contemporaries to be one of the ringleaders, Sir John rashly joined the Rising of the North in that year which aimed at replacing Elizabeth by Mary Queen of Scots as the rightful ruler of England. No sooner was he implicated, however, than he appears to have regretted his action in joining the conspiracy. His part in the abortive rising cost him his estates. He fled to Flanders where he became a pensioner of Philip. Before he fled abroad he was interviewed by Sir Thomas Gargrave, governor of Pontefract. It appears that in the early years of his life he had been a Protestant (though probably a nominal one) but in Mary's reign he was in Gargrave's words, "confirmed in Popery and false doctrine."¹⁰⁴ After his flight abroad Sir Thomas Gargrave and Sir Hugh Saville interviewed Lady Neville whom they found in a sorry plight. They reported: "Lady Neville, Sir John's wife, is in poor case, *having only a white frieze gown and ten children, and neither house, meat, nor drink.*"¹⁰⁵ Shortly afterwards Sir John's family joined him in Flanders. His son, Edmund, however, appears to have remained in England, probably as manager of the Carey estate in Liversege,¹⁰⁶ and in 1574, the Queen granted him a pension of £20 out of the Liversege estates.¹⁰⁷ The survey of Sir John's Hunslet estate, to which reference has already been made, proves that lands which, prior to the dissolution were in the hands of Drax Priory and Fountains Abbey had been transferred to him, probably after his father's death in 1542.

After Sir John Neville was attainted for treason, Sir Edward Carey, who has been variously described as "master of the revels," and "keeper of the jewel house," at Elizabeth's court, was appointed caretaker of the Neville estates. In 1572 he leased

¹⁰³ Peel: *op. cit.* pp. 63—73.

¹⁰⁴ Sharpe: *Memorials of the Rebellion*, p.125.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Peel: *op. cit.* p.103.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

them from the Crown. The Hunslet estate was leased for a period of twenty-one years at an annual rent of £116/13/9½d., four capons and four hens.¹⁰⁸ In 1591 Sir Edward renewed his lease of the Hunslet estate on the payment of a fine of one hundred pounds.¹⁰⁹ The lease was not renewed in his own name but in that of his sons, Philip, Adolphus, and Henry, who were to hold the estate successively for the term of their lives. In 1612-13 Sir Philip Carey bought the Hunslet estate outright.¹¹⁰

GRANTS OF HUNSLET PROPERTY TO MEDIÆVAL RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.

During the later Middle Ages a number of grants was made out of Hunslet property to the Priory of Holy Trinity, York; to the canons of Drax; to the monasteries of Fountains and Sallay; and to two local chantries.

Sometime before 1100, the tithes of the whole parish of Leeds, which included those of Hunslet, were granted by Ralph Paynel, the mesne tenant, to the Priory of Holy Trinity, York, which he had refounded. They remained in the hands of that monastic body until the dissolution. Shortly afterwards, in 1546, the king granted them to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Oxford,¹¹² with whom they remained until 1598 when all of them except the tithe of corn and the modus of hay were diverted to the use of the Vicar of Leeds.¹¹³ Ralph Paynel's grant of the tithes of the parish of Leeds did not include those of the mills in the parish. These, with the inferred exception of the tithes of Hunslet mill, were granted by his son, William Paynel, shortly after 1130 to the canons of Drax.¹¹⁴ The tithe of Hunslet mill was, in the following century, in the hands of the Priory of Holy Trinity, York, by whom it was transferred in 1248-9 to Sallay Abbey for a yearly rent of 12/0d.¹¹⁵ It is extremely likely that the tithe of Hunslet mill was granted to Holy Trinity Priory anterior to William Paynel's gift to the canons of Drax, and this would explain the reason why William Paynel's grant of the tithes of the mills of the parish to the canons

¹⁰⁸ Patent Roll 15 Eliz. part 11 (1104) m.14 (23) (K.M.).

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. 34 Eliz. part 4 (1382) m.8 (K.M.).

¹¹⁰ Patent Roll 10 James 1 part 23 (1965) no. 15 (K.M.).

¹¹¹ E.Y.C. vi, p.68

¹¹² Thoresby: *Vicaria*, pp.36-7.

¹¹³ Thoresby: *Vicaria*, p.61.

¹¹⁴ *Mon. Ang.* vi, p.195.

¹¹⁵ *Sallay Chart.* ii, p.90.

of Drax included an annual gift of thirty measures of good grain from Hunslet mill.¹¹⁶ Whether the tithe remained with the monks of Sallay Abbey until the dissolution is not clear. It is not mentioned in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, and it is not heard of again until 1596 when it was granted to Christ Church, Oxford.¹¹⁷

Sometime prior to 1199, when the gift was included in a confirmation by King Richard the First,¹¹⁸ Peter Awtrey granted to Fountains Abbey six and a half acres of land in Hunslet, together with two tofts in the same place.¹¹⁹ In 1336 the holding consisted of three tofts, and three acres of land "lying in Bercroft between the Leeds-Wakefield Road and the River Aire."¹²⁰ At that date this property was held by Miles Hay for a yearly rent of 5/0d. He had sublet the tenement; two tofts and three acres of land being occupied by Richard the miller, and the remaining toft being occupied by Richard Sharp. An interesting light is thrown by an experience of Miles Hay, on the methods used by the monks to safeguard their revenue from defaulting tenants of secular property. He was three years in arrears with his rent so the monks excommunicated him. Their action led to a speedy payment of the arrears of rent.¹²¹ The 5/0d. due to Fountains Abbey was still being paid in the fifteenth century,¹²² and the survey of 1570 proved that it was still due to the Crown in the sixteenth. This information necessarily makes the information contained in the record of the inquisition post mortem on Sir John Neville's estates in 1502 seem doubtful. This doubt can, however, be removed if the word "Fountains" is substituted for the word "Furness."

¹¹⁶ William Paynel also gave to the canons half a carucate of land in (Cad)Beeston. The gifts of both the thirty measures of grain from Hunslet mill and the half carucate of land in Beeston seem to have been commuted into a yearly money payment which the Awtrey family paid until John Awtrey made an alternative arrangement. Sometime in 1232-76, John Awtrey granted the canons the homage and service of Richard Hay from half a carucate of land in Hunslet, and a tillage in (Cad)Beeston called the "Morflat of Aliwell Sike" which contained 16 acres. In return the canons released him from the payment of 20s. resulting from William Paynel's gift. (E.Y.C. iii, p.201). The grant operated up to the dissolution, and in 1570 a rent of 10s. and a pound of pepper was still paid to the Crown for a close called "More Road."

¹¹⁷ Thoresby: *Vicaria*, p.60.

¹¹⁸ *Memorials of Fountains*, ii, pt. i, p.15.

¹¹⁹ Thoresby: *Ducatus*, p.212: *C.Chr.*, 1341-1417, p.112.

¹²⁰ *Kirkstall Coucher*, p.5. ¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p.4.

¹²² *Memorials of Fountains*, iii, pp.5, 42, 82.

In 1189 Matilda Percy, on the advice of William Vavasour, refounded Sallay Abbey with more extensive endowments:¹²³ and both William and his sons Robert and Mauger made moderate grants towards the support of the monks, some of them from property in Hunslet in which they held an interest. Shortly before his death in 1189-90, William Vavasour gave to Sallay Abbey some interest in Hunslet Mill. Mauger, his elder son and heir, not only confirmed his father's grant,¹²⁴ but as there was some dispute about his father's gifts in general, agreed to hold the mill of Hunslet for a yearly rent of five marks,¹²⁵ from which he was later released in exchange for a grant of land in Bolton and Malasis.¹²⁶ At a later date, Mauger made further grants, of all his rights in Hunslet Mill,¹²⁷ and of half a carucate in Hunslet.¹²⁸ This grant was confirmed by Mauger's overlord in Hunslet, Peter Awtrey, who attorned other land in the fee to acquit the forinsec service.¹²⁹

Mauger's death around Christmas 1218, jeopardised his gifts to Sallay as he was in debt, not only to the king, but to Jewish usurers. To assist William Vavasour, Mauger's son and heir, restore his fortunes, and possibly with an eye to future gifts, the monks of Sallay gave him thirty marks, a palfrey, and a team of oxen.¹³⁰ When he had seisin,¹³¹ William Vavasour readily confirmed all his father's gifts to the monks.¹³²

Before 1240, the mill of Hunslet had again changed hands, for the Abbot and monks of Sallay granted it to John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, in exchange for an annual payment of six marks by the men of Grindleton until the Earl gave them something more certain in lands.¹³³ It seems extremely probable that the whole of the Sallay interest in Hunslet was transferred to John de Lacy, for after that time there is no further mention of a connexion between Hunslet property and Sallay Abbey. That the exchange was effective is clear for in 1246 the mill of Hunslet was recorded as being in the hands of "the keeper of the Earl of Lincoln's lands."¹³⁴

¹²³ *Sallay Chart.* ii, p.201.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.67.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.66.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, i, p.75.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, ii, p.67.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.68.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.69.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, i, p.81.

¹³¹ In 3 Henry III, William rendered account of 50 marks for the debts of his father, and 3 palfreys for having seisin. *Bailldon and the Bailldons*. 1, p.507.

¹³² *Sallay Chart.* ii, p.62. ¹³³ *Ibid.* i, p.130. ¹³⁴ *C.L.R.* 1245-51, p.47

Sometime during the fourteenth century King Edward III gave his licence for the appropriation of 92½ acres of land in Rothwell, Carlton, and Hunslet to a chantry in the south aisle of Rothwell Parish Church.¹³⁵ An inquisition post mortem in the reign of Edward III¹³⁶ recorded John, the late Vicar of Rothwell, as receiving a rent of ten shillings from property in Hunslet. The chantry survey of 1548¹³⁷ noted George Hargrave as holding "one messuage with the appurtenances in Hunslet Woodhouse worth 40/7½d" of Rothwell Chantry priest. There was also "a free rent of 8/0d. going forth of the lands of Sir John Nevyle lienge in Hunslet Woodhouse." A grant in 1590¹³⁸ by Queen Elizabeth to Edmund Downyng and Roger Rante, of the Hunslet lands once belonging to the chantry lists them in detail. There was a messuage and two buildings in Hunslet Woodhouse, and eight closes amounting in all to 24½ acres. The land comprised *Carrclose* (3 acres), *Wellcrofte Close* (1 acre), *Faughclose* (3 acres), *Pitt Close* (1 acre), *Little Inges* (2½ acres), *Le Nether Inge* (4 acres), an unnamed close (5 acres), and 9 selions of pasture (3 acres).

Sometime before 1398 a number of donors had granted rents of varying amounts from lands in the parish to the chantry of Saint Mary the Virgin in Leeds Parish Church. They included a rent of three shillings by William Hay from a meadow in Hunslet called *Saint Marienge*. As the donors had not obtained the king's licence for the alienation, the rents were impounded by the king's officers. In 1410, King Henry IV gave the rents, which amounted to 20/6d. yearly, to Walter Croce of

¹³⁵ Batty: *History of Rothwell*, p.41.

¹³⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* Sive esc. Ed. III, p.12.

¹³⁷ The chantry dedicated to Our Lady, was, according to the survey founded 10th. July 1272 by the incumbent of the parish, John Ratcliffe (*Yorkshire Charity Surveys*, II. p.289) "to the extent the incumbent thereof shoulde daily say masse and other divine service and celebrate in the saide church and to be in the highquere all festival days, and at matynes mass, and evensonge, and further to help mynstre sacrament when nede requyreh and to pray for the sowle of the founder."

¹³⁸ Patent Roll 32 Eliz. part 13 (1349) m.i (K.M.)

At the time of the grant, the lands were in the tenure of George Hargrave the tenant of 1548, or of his son, and of John Fenton. They had been leased from the Crown in 1569 for a period of 21 years. These men were mentioned in the survey of 1570 as paying a rent of 7½d. When Hunslet was sold to Sir Philip Carey, this rent was transferred to him.

Leeds Parish Church, and his successors in frankalmoin, "to pray in the church of Ledes for the souls of the king's progenitors, dukes of Lancaster, and for the good estate of the king, and his infants, and for their souls after death."¹³⁹

THE LAND OF HUNSLET AND ITS CULTIVATORS.

During the Middle Ages information about the land of Hunslet and its cultivators is rather scanty. In view of the isolation of village life in that period the growing of crops which were consumed in the village must have been the main concern of the inhabitants: and field names such as "The Ry Closes," "the barley close,"¹⁴⁰ and "the Bread Pasture,"¹⁴¹ which occur in seventeenth century Hunslet deeds, are relics of this practice. Although there appears to be no direct evidence of the existence of an open field type of agriculture in Hunslet during the mediæval period, references to "the West Field," in a sixteenth century will,¹⁴² and to "selions of pasture" in the same century suggest that an open field type of agriculture had existed: and the perpetuation of the mediæval "jackland" and "balk" in the names Jack Lane and Balks Field adds further confirmation. That the conditions under which farming was carried on were far from ideal is suggested by the fact that even within the memory of people now living the River Aire used to flood the area lying between the River Aire and Hunslet Lane.

Before 1379 the number of cultivators referred to in charters and chartularies is very small. In the twelfth century Serlo the Miller, Walding, and Leviva the widow of Hunslet Carr, alone were mentioned: in the following century the names of Ralph the Blacksmith, Jordan son of Ulkil, Edwin, William Stanhus, William the son of Walding and Peter his brother, and William the son of Sefar¹⁴³ occur; and in the fourteenth century, only Richard Sharp and Richard the Miller received notice. There is throughout the period insufficient evidence to indicate the average size of the land worked by the cultivators of the soil but perhaps

¹³⁹ C.P.R. 1408-13, pp. 207-8.

¹⁴⁰ Close Roll A.D. 1652 part 20 (3660) no. 23 (K.M.).

¹⁴¹ Ibid 6 Charles I part 9 (2828) no. 3 (K.M.).

¹⁴² Parish Registers, i, p.127. ¹⁴³ Sallay Chart., ii, p.70

the holdings of Ralph the Blacksmith and Jordan son of Ulkil each of whom held two bovates (about 30 acres) were typical holdings in the early thirteenth century.

The first comprehensive list of the inhabitants of Hunslet occurred in the Poll Tax returns of 1379.¹⁴⁴ The list contains the following names : "Robert ffranke (fran(klan)) et uxor, John de Garforth, John ffalconer, Hugo Smyth, Gilbert Mallum, John ffox, John Schephird, Robert Billam, John Chapman, William del North, Richard Baldok, John fflether (fflecher?), Richard Banastre, John Raner, Roger de Kyghelay, John Isabell, Adam Abraham, Robert Talour, William Milner, John del Chambur, John Horne, John del Stones, John ffykild, Thomas Hanlay, Robert Kirkeman, John Dawtre (Awtrey), William ffox, Thomas de Manyngham et uxor." All the preceding persons were married. The following were not :—"Stephen ffrankeman, Alice ffrankemayden, Matilda Spenlof, Ralph Talourman, Matilda Brabane, Joanna Chapman, Joanna Dawtre, John filium Robert, Agnes del Stabill, Alice filia Agnes, Annabel Rayner, Magota ffraward, Thomas Lepar." Two striking deductions to be drawn from the list are (a)—That the inhabitants are poor peasants for only the franklin pays tax greater than a groat; (b)—That immigration into the village is implied by the inclusion of names such as those of John of Garforth, William from the North, Roger of Keighley, and Thomas of Manningham (Bradford). Read in conjunction with the Survey of 1570 the evidence of the Poll Tax return suggests that the inhabitants of Hunslet with one exception no longer owned the land which they tilled. The changed condition of tenure may have resulted from the purchase of lands of sokemen by the lord of the estate, or be a consequence of escheat.

Both those processes are likely to have been accelerated by the mortality occasioned by the Black Death and the economic troubles which it brought in its train. That the plague took a heavy toll of the inhabitants can be deduced from the influx of new settlers. It is quite feasible that the newcomers were granted land on terms dictated by the grantor. There is, however, nothing to suggest that the new terms were harsh, and they probably consisted of money rents alone. The preponderance of

¹⁴⁴ *Yorks. Archaeological Journal*, vi, pp.302-3.

leasehold tenures in the sixteenth century dating primarily from the reign of Mary and Philip, suggests a wholesale conversion of copyhold: and it is quite probable that tenure by copy of court roll existed in the fourteenth century in Hunslet. Support for this suggestion is to be found in the absence of information anent the tillers of the soil in the fifteenth century. This information was almost certainly contained in the court rolls which have now disappeared. That tillage was still practised in fifteenth and sixteenth century Hunslet is proved by a passage in the will of Lady Alice Neville where she referred to "all my drught oxen," and to "all the cornnes upon the ground sawen and to be sawen." In 1570 the survey of Hunslet noted the presence of land in contradistinction to meadow and pasture. Earlier, in 1554, Thomas Falconer of Hunslet, who was probably a descendant of that John ffalconer who was mentioned in the Poll Tax return of 1379, bequeathed to his son, "yooke, teines, and plowes";¹⁴⁵ and three years later Robert Calbecke of Hunslet willed to his son Robert "wayns, plews and harros wyth all other thinge and greves ther unto belonging."¹⁴⁶

During the sixteenth century, however, momentous changes occurred in Hunslet in connection with the land. The survey of 1570 makes it clear that enclosure has taken place in Hunslet; and since Hunslet was not listed in the enclosure survey of 1517 as one of the places where enclosure had occurred, it must have taken place after that date. It is quite possible that surrender of copyhold and enclosure went hand in hand: and if this supposition is true, the evidence supplied by the survey of 1570 implies that the enclosure was a gradual one extending over a period of years, and that a long process of consolidation of strips had preceded it.

A second great change which appears to have taken place is the substitution of a predominantly pastoral economy for one that seems to have been purely agrarian, and many of the entries in the survey of 1570 relate to meadow and pasture. During the period 1550-60 many references to cattle occurred in Hunslet wills,¹⁴⁷ and in view of the conversion of arable to pasture in the village, it rather appears that stock raising may have become a regular practice. It would, however, be foolish to dogmatise on

¹⁴⁵ *Test. Leod.*, ii, p.76.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* pp.163—4.

¹⁴⁷ See *Test. Leod.*, i p.259, ii, pp.132-3, 313-4, 350, 352.

this point for the references to cattle may only have alluded to the cattle kept on the farm for the satisfaction of normal household needs. The absence of gifts of cattle in wills drawn up in later years is nevertheless very marked and certainly seems to suggest that cattle raising had been of more than domestic importance during the years prior to 1560 or thereabout. During the second half of the sixteenth century sheep grazing appears to have sprung into prominence. Although the acreage of the individual enclosures in Hunslet appears to have been small, the inhabitants often held more than one of them; and these, together with any rights of grazing sheep on the common land which they possessed, would no doubt support a reasonably sized flock of sheep. The first reference to the existence of sheep in Hunslet seems to have been in 1554 when Thomas Falconer gave a bequest of "a youe and a lambe." In 1560 William Hargrave gave to three of his children "each one of them a gymbur."¹⁴⁸ After 1570 bequests of ewes, hoggs, and gimbers seem to have wholly replaced gifts of cattle.

The reason why the inhabitants of Hunslet turned to sheep grazing probably resulted from the wise administration of Elizabeth's ministers. During the early sixteenth century the clothing industry of Leeds was hampered by a regulation which prevented manufacturers from readily supplying themselves with raw wool. Raw wool could only be bought in certain places called staple towns. As the journey to the staple towns was often difficult and dangerous, the clothiers of Leeds preferred to make unauthorised purchases from villages in the neighbourhood, a practice which the government wisely overlooked. It was no doubt to this need that the economy of Hunslet in the second half of the sixteenth century was adapted. A second survey of Hunslet shortly before 1612,¹⁴⁹ indicates that almost the whole of the village land had been turned over to pasture and meadow, and (if the factual evidence of the two surveys is accepted at its face value) that the area of land in use had been more than doubled, suggesting that much of the waste had been enclosed. Holdings were very much increased in size, and occupied by a considerably smaller number of tenants. That these tenants were willing to pay increased rents can only mean that sheep grazing was an extremely profitable business. How exorbitant these rents

¹⁴⁸ *Test. Leod.* ii, pp.313—4.

¹⁴⁹ Land Revenue Record Office, vol. 49 of Surveys, f. 52 (K.M.).

appeared to the people of Hunslet is revealed by the substance of a petition addressed by the inhabitants to Lord Salisbury in 1609.¹⁵⁰ Complaining of Sir Philip Carey's exactions, the petitioners go on to say, "he dealeth very uniuostly with youre poor peticioners and hath commenced suit in the Kynges Bench against some of them and hath letten some parte of the premises to strangers and taken rent from the same contrary to all equety and conscience." When Salisbury brought the matter to the notice of Sir Philip, he offered to buy the manor. On hearing of Sir Philip's intention the tenants again protested to Salisbury claiming that "if Sir Philip Carew doe by it we are sure to be putt from our dwellinges for his demand is of the farmes from Eightene shillinges rent to Tenn Pounds the which is the greatest rate in all Yorkshire." It can be imagined what forebodings the villagers experienced when they learned of Sir Philip's purchase of the Hunslet estate in 1612-13.

CRAFTS AND TRADE

During the later Middle Ages, the important centres of the English Wool Textile trade were located in the West of England around Bristol, and in East Anglia. By the year 1300, however, there is evidence that the manufacture of woollens was well established in York, Beverley, and to a lesser extent, in the smaller Yorkshire towns. Almost a century later the Poll Tax returns of 1379 show that the woollen industry existed in almost every part of Yorkshire, though it was more flourishing in some parts than in others. By 1470 the industry had become concentrated in the West Riding: the more populous towns lying to the south of Leeds were producing textiles on a fairly extensive scale; and their combined output equalled that of York.¹⁵¹ As the woollen industry of York and Beverley declined, that of the West Riding towns expanded rapidly, so that before the end of the seventeenth century it had been brought into a position of rivalry with East Anglia and the West of England. This was the period during which the town of Leeds sprang into prominence as a woollen manufactory and a cloth market.

¹⁵⁰ State Papers Domestic James I vol. 44, f. 69 (K.M.).

¹⁵¹ Heaton: *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries* p.75.

Before the fifteenth century the woollen industry of Leeds was only of moderate dimensions. The thirteenth century presents us with the existence of the weaver, the fuller, and the dyer:¹⁵² whilst throughout the fourteenth century Leeds possessed two fulling mills.¹⁵³ The history of these mills tells a story of a steady expansion of the local woollen industry. Evidence supplied by the ulnager's accounts points to the same end. The account for 1396-7, covering a period of fifty-four weeks, noted four Leeds men as having made one hundred and twenty cloths of assize.¹⁵⁴ In 1468-9, in a period of only forty-two weeks, the number of cloths had increased to one hundred and seventy-seven.¹⁵⁵ But it was not until the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth that Leeds came to the forefront of the woollen industry. During this period the expansion was so rapid that in the reign of Henry the Eighth Leland wrote of Leeds: "The Towne standith most by clothing."¹⁵⁶ Towards the close of the sixteenth century a new tendency was in evidence: the industry was drifting to surrounding villages. Brother Peck in 1598 wrote that the woollen industry was to be found not in Leeds alone but in "Leeds and some other smale villages nere there aboutes."¹⁵⁷ If we are to attach any importance to a petition from Leeds and Halifax, attested by four hundred signatories, protesting over the incidence of Ship Money, the drift seems to have been considerable. The petitioners claim that the amount of cloth made in the towns did not equal "the amount made in the several and dispersed towns and villages about us."¹⁵⁸ Among Brother Peck's "smale villages" must be numbered Hunslet, though the proximity of Hunslet to Leeds appears to have brought about the large scale establishment of the woollen manufacture there rather earlier. Its beginning may, however, lie as far back as the end of the fourteenth century for the Poll Tax return for Hunslet reveals the presence there of Matilda Brabane whose Flemish descent is implied by her name.

The first direct references to the presence of the woollen industry in Hunslet occur in the fifth decade of the sixteenth century. In 1551 Thomas Hargrave of Hunslet Woodhouse willed that "vi pare of sheres be egally delte amongo my thre sonnes":¹⁵⁹

¹⁵² *Ibid.* p. 5.

¹⁵³ *V.C.H. Yorks.* ii, pp. 408, 409.

¹⁵⁴ Heaton: *op. cit.* p.71.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid* p.75.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid* p.78.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid* p.79.

¹⁵⁸ *V.C.H. Yorks.* ii, p.414.

¹⁵⁹ *Test. Leod.* 1, p.259.

in the following year Richard Harrison left to Isabelle Burneley "one yerde of white cloth and a half":¹⁶⁰ and in 1559 Richard Booth made a bequest of a "teith come at Hunslet."¹⁶¹ That the whole processing of cloth was being carried on in Hunslet is suggested by a will of 1588 when John Dickson, who described himself as a Leeds clothier, bequeathed to his son a "great lyting lead" (dye vat), a "Pair of Tenters," a "Wolhedge," and "Shopgeare necessary for a Clothe."¹⁶² Indirect evidence also suggests that the manufacture of cloth was well established in Hunslet by the middle of the sixteenth century, a factor making for the relative prosperity of the inhabitants. At the dissolution, among the return of tithes paid by various districts in the parish of Leeds, Hunslet was recorded as paying £4/13/4d. compared with Catbeeston's contribution of 10/0d., Kirkbeeston cum Cottingley's £3/6/8d., Knostrop's £3/6/8d., Holbeck's 15/0d., Wortley's £1/13/4d., Armley's £1/0/0d., Coldcotes' £1/0/0d., and Osmondthorpe's 10/0d.¹⁶³ Again, throughout the course of the greater part of the sixteenth century, even if the devaluation of the currency under the Tudors is taken into account, there were indications of slowly increasing prosperity among individual Hunslet families.¹⁶⁴ In 1546 Robert Calbeck was taxed on goods worth only 20/0d., but his son, and later his grandson increased their taxable wealth to 100/0d. Roger Fawcett who paid no tax in 1546, was taxed on goods worth 60/0d. in 1566. His son was taxed on the same amount in 1588, but by 1598 he had increased his taxable wealth to 160/0d. Of equal significance is the increase between 1542 and 1598 in the number of tenants subject to land tax. None is returned as paying this tax in 1542: and in 1546 only Thomas Brighton, a franklin paid it. By 1566, however, the number had increased to three. In 1571 it was five; and in 1598 the number had risen to seven. Further evidence that the inhabitants were fairly prosperous is indicated by passages from the wills of the period. In 1551 Richard Harrison of Hunslet who described himself as a husbandman, bequeathed "unto the

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* II, p.352.

¹⁶² *Parish Registers* i, p.382.

¹⁶³ *Mon. Ang.* iv, p.685.

¹⁶⁴ This is to be deduced from the Lay Subsidy Returns for the wapentake of Morley:—Exchequer Lay Subsidies, Yorks.:—

33 Henry 8 207/182 (K.M.).

13 Eliz. 208/246 (K.M.).

37 Henry 8 207/186 (K.M.).

39 Eliz. 208/276 (K.M.).

8 Eliz. 208/239 (K.M.).

30 Eliz. *Thoresby Misc.* v, p.138

mendyng of the hie wae xxd."¹⁶⁵ Similar bequests were made by John Lupton of Hunslet in 1558,¹⁶⁶ and by William Hargrave of Hunslet Woodhouse in 1560.¹⁶⁷ In 1573, William Harrison, who described himself as a webster, bequeathed "To the mending of the causay end upon the Green and Green Hill Steel 10/0d.": and Thomas Gale, who died shortly after 1570, gave £40 each to his two daughters, settled something extra on his sons and his brothers in law, and still had something left to offer his six servants.¹⁶⁸ No man employing six servants can be considered poor, yet in 1546 William Gale, who was presumably the father of Thomas, possessed taxable wealth of only 40/0d.

By the end of the sixteenth century the woollen industry of Hunslet was apparently of considerable proportions for according to a deed of 1610-11 the village possessed two fulling mills.¹⁶⁹ It was no doubt the wealth derived from the making of cloth which enabled the inhabitants of Hunslet to make a gift of £300 to Sir Edward Carey in 1591 in return for a promise to extend their leases for the rest of his life; to pay a bribe of £112 to Sir Philip Carey when he went to Ireland in the train of the Earl of Essex; to pay the increased rents demanded by Sir Philip after his father's death in 1608; to offer to purchase the manor from the Crown if Sir Philip Carey declined to pay the royal selling price;¹⁷⁰ and later for individual inhabitants to buy portions of the manor when it was sold. It was to the growth of the woollen industry in Hunslet during the sixteenth century that the township of the seventeenth owed the erection of its fine Jacobean houses, a considerable number of which were still in existence at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Another industry which was found in sixteenth century Hunslet was coalmining. As early as 1242 the existence of a coalmine in the region of Pontefract was hinted at in the accounts of the keeper of the Earl of Lincoln's lands;¹⁷¹ and in the fourteenth century coalmining was an established industry in Allerton, Leeds, and Roundhay.¹⁷² The history of British coal-

¹⁶⁵ *Test. Leod.* i, p.259.

¹⁶⁶ *Test. Leod.* ii, p.300

¹⁶⁷ Wills in the York Registry, vol. 19, f. 569 (K.M.).

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* f. 529.

¹⁶⁹ Patent Roll 8 James I part 33 (1871) no. 6 (K.M.).

¹⁷⁰ See petition of 1609, loc. cit.

¹⁷¹ *V.C.H. Yorks.* ii, p.338.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* p.339.

mining, however, dates from the sixteenth century, and the West Riding was well to the fore in the new industry. In 1548 Archbishop Tunstall recorded having seen twenty-five coalpits within a radius of ten miles of Hazelwood:¹⁷³ but it was in the following half century that the most rapid advance was made; and by the beginning of the seventeenth century there were numerous pits scattered up and down Yorkshire, a hundred of which had been quite recently started.¹⁷⁴ Some of the pits around Leeds must have been quite extensive, for in 1588 a payment of £613/6/8d. was paid for the remaining thirty-four years of a Crown lease of coalmines in two parcels of the manor of Leeds, and in the waste of Whinmoor.¹⁷⁵ In view of the rapid development of coalmining in the area around Leeds in the sixteenth century, it is not surprising that "one mine of coals" existed in Hunslet at the time of the survey of 1570. It is regrettable that all we are told about it is that it was worth £19/11/2d. yearly.

¹⁷³ Thoresby: *Ducatus*, p.v.

¹⁷⁴ Nef: *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, i, p.57

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* pp.58—9.

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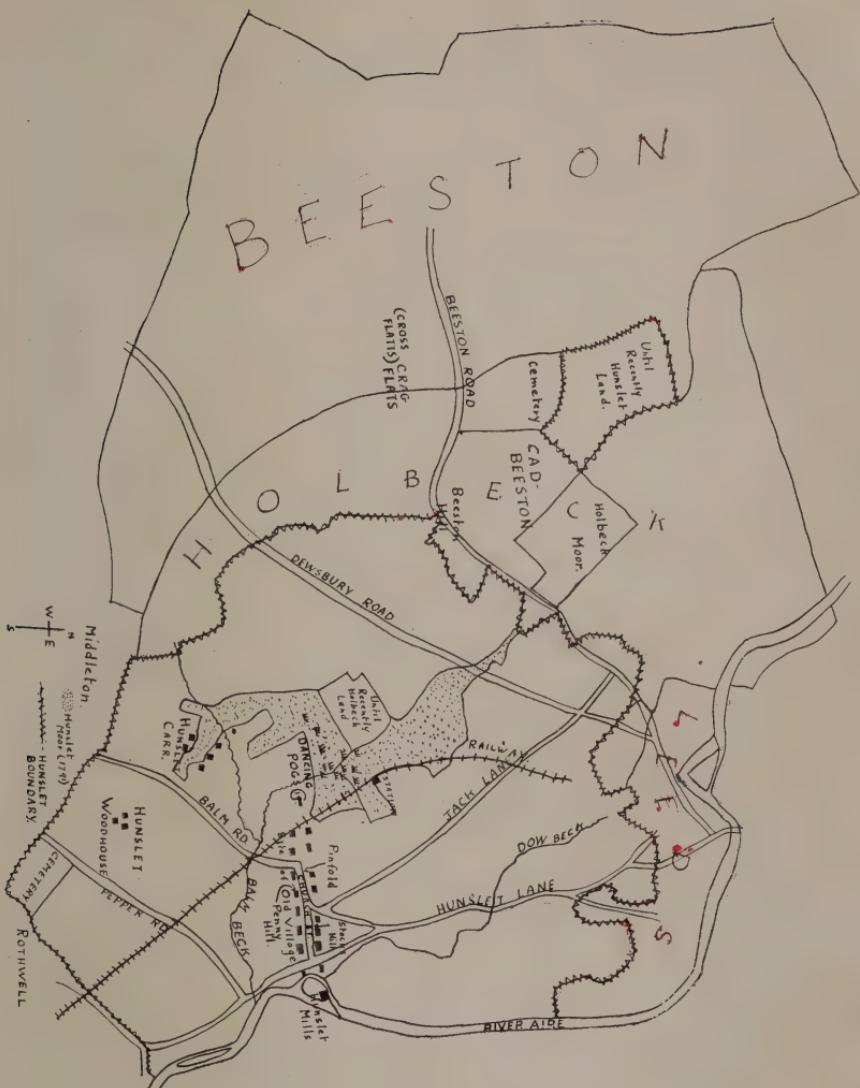
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- (4) *Early Yorkshire Charters*, 6 vols. and index: vols. 1-3 ed. Farrar W.: 1914-16: Vols. 4-6 ed. Clay C. T.: 1935-39: Index ed. Clay C.T. and E.M.: 1942. (Record Series: Extra Series). (*E.Y.C.*).
- (5) *Fines for the Tudor Period*, 4 vols.: 1887-90: Vols. 2, 5, 7, 8.

SELDEN SOCIETY

- (1) *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Yorkshire 1218-19*: ed. Stenton D. M.: 1937. Vol. 56.

(iii) MISCELLANEOUS

- (1) *The British Academy, Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales*. Vol. 5. *Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*: Stenton F. M.: London: 1920.
- (2) G.E.C.: *Complete Peerage*, new and revised edition: 1910—
- (3) Page W. editor: *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*, 3 vols. and index: London 1907-25. (*V.C.H. Yorks.*).
- (4) Page W. editor: *Victoria County History of the County of Lancaster*, 8 vols.: London 1906-18. (*V.C.H. Lancs.*).
- (5) Thoresby R.: *Ducatus Leodiensis*: London 1715. (*Ducatus*).
- (6) Thoresby R.: *Vicaria Leodiensis*: London 1724. (*Vicaria*).
- (7) William Dugdale: *Monasticon Anglicanum*: ed. Caley J., Ellis H., Bandinel B.: Reprint of 1846: 6 vols. (*Mon. Ang.*).



The Library of the Thoresby Society

By G. E. KIRK, Hon. Librarian.¹

Our Society² was first suggested in a letter sent by Mr. (afterwards Colonel) Edmund Wilson, of Leeds, to the editors of the *Yorkshire Post* and *The Weekly Supplement to the Leeds Mercury*, and published by them in March 1889, advocating "the formation of a local society for the purpose of collecting and possessing materials for the past and present history of Leeds." Mr. Wilson said, "the events of to-day should be recorded for the benefit of posterity . . . Let us at any rate preserve the materials which are now easily obtainable."

It was proposed on 13 May, 1889, that the society be called "The Thoresby Society," but an amendment was carried in favour of the title "The Leeds Historical and Antiquarian Society." On 10 July of the same year, however, it was decided that the title be "The Thoresby Society."

By arrangement with the Leeds Law Society, the Thoresby Society had the use of the Committee Room or Large Hall of the Law Institution in Albion Place, and the use of the two cupboards in the Committee Room, and to put approved cases into it, for the inclusive charge of £8 per year. It was resolved that the arms of the Society should be those of Ralph Thoresby, impaled with those of Leeds.

The Council constituted a number of sections of diverse interests. Section N involved "the formation of a Library and Museum by the acquisition of Books, Documents and Antiquities relating to the town and neighbourhood." Of this the chairman was the Rev. Charles Hargrove, who had also been appointed Librarian. He is well remembered in Leeds as Minister of Mill Hill Chapel.

¹ This paper is an enlargement of one that I read to members at 16, Queen Square, Leeds, on October 17, 1942.

² See "A Jubilee Review, 1889-1939," by W. B. Crump; and "The Founders of the Thoresby Society," by Lt.-Colonel E. Kitson Clark, in vol. XXXVII of the Society's publications.

But on 18 February, 1890, Mr. Hargrove was succeeded as Librarian by Mr. William Thomas Lancaster, who later became Librarian of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.³ He was an able contributor to our publications.

Rules adopted, 10 July, 1889, included among the objects of the Society, "the collection and preservation of books, pamphlets, MSS., deeds, engravings, drawings, coins, antiquities, and other objects relating to the town and neighbourhood of Leeds, or bearing in any way upon the past or present history of the inhabitants," and that "the Librarian shall have charge of, catalogue and preserve in the best possible manner all property acquired by purchase or gift or in anyway belonging to the Society."⁴

The last meeting of the Council to be held in the Law Institution was that of 21 July, 1890. The Council next met, on 26 November, 1890, in the Philosophical Society's Library, when it was resolved "that application be made to the Corporate Property Committee of the Town Council for the use of a room at the Public Library, now partially occupied by the Leeds Naturalists' Club, and that a special meeting be called as soon as possible after an answer has been received from the Corporate Property Committee."⁵

An ordinary meeting of the Council was held in the Naturalists' Room on 11 December, 1890, when it was resolved that the Librarian be directed to remove the books and other property of the Society from the Law Institution and to place them in the custody of Mr. Yates at the Public Library until further notice.⁶

Another ordinary meeting was held in the Naturalists' Room on December 20th. At a special meeting held there on 17 January, 1891, a letter was read from Sir George Morrison, Town Clerk, granting the Society the use of that room in the Municipal Buildings, jointly with the Naturalists' Club.⁷ It is mentioned in the Thoresby Society's Annual Report, 18 February, 1891, as "Room 80 adjoining the Reference Department of the Public

³ Annual Report, 1890 (Misc. I.).

⁴ Misc. I.

⁵ Council Minutes.

⁶ Council Minutes.

⁷ Council Minutes.

Library. This may be identified as the present Administration Office of the Public Library. In the Council Minutes it is referred to as "the Society's Room." But other ideas there were about the question of premises.

On 26 October, 1892, it was resolved that the President, Secretaries and Treasurer form a Committee to confer with the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association—as it was then called—about jointly renting a room in Leeds.⁸ The Yorkshire Society then had its rooms in Huddersfield.

The Report for the year 1892 shows the continued use of a room in the Municipal Buildings, but regrets that the various sections with respective subjects had lapsed into non-existence and states that "the work of an Archæological Society is emphatically one of research and collection." "It is consequently clear," the Report continues, "that the efficiency of such a society is relative, to a large extent, to the facilities of reference in the possession of its members. As a young Society, the Thoresby Society cannot pretend to possess all works of reference with regard to Leeds, but the Council propose to ask the assistance of the Members of the Society to compile, in the first place, a Bibliography of Leeds; in the second, to carry out a more ambitious project of cataloguing authorities on every subject connected with antiquarian research. It is apparent that the second scheme will include the first, and however incomplete, will provide invaluable assistance to the antiquarian inquirer. The principle of card catalogues, as in vogue in many public libraries, will enable the officers of the Society to keep such an index of authorities absolutely up to date, with all contributions to the list sent by members assisting, and will enable them to enter one authority in as many forms as necessary, under name, subject, or sub-division of subject"⁹

In regard to the Bibliography of Leeds, an index of articles relating to Leeds was accepted from the Rev. R. V. Taylor (Vicar of Melbecks), on 21 April, 1890, and filed for reference.¹⁰ The other ideals mentioned have to some extent, found recent fulfil-

⁸ Council Minutes.

⁹ Report (1892), April 27, 1893. *Misc. II.*

¹⁰ Council Minutes.

ment in the Jubilee Index of the Society's publications and in the Card Catalogue of its Library. These will be referred to later. The Balance Sheet for the period, 1889-1892, mentions :—

W. Hebden, for Shelves at the Law Institution £0 15s. 6d.
J. Dobson, for Bookcase £8 0s. 0d.¹¹

In 1893 the Council purchased for the Society, at the Turner sale, Thoresby's own annotated copy of the "Ducatus"—price £7 15s. 0d.¹² In 1893, Mr. Samuel Denison became Librarian in place of Mr. Lancaster. In 1894 the Thoresby Society had arranged an exchange of publications with fifteen kindred Societies and had, by that means, much improved the Library. The Librarian attended at the Society's Room on the first Monday evening in each month, for the purpose of giving members access to the Society's Collections.¹³

In the Account for the year 1894 :—

James Yates, writing "Thoresby Society" on Room 80,
Municipal Buildings 3s. 6d.

Payments had, in recent years, been made for use of Leeds Philosophical Hall and Leeds Mechanics' Institution for Meetings.

A successful Conversazione was held on 13 February, 1894, in the Philosophical Hall, when some of the most interesting books and MSS. came from the Society's own Library, "now gradually increasing through the gifts of members and the timely purchases of the Society." Members were afterwards reminded that scarce works on archæology were more useful and more accessible in the Library of a body like the Thoresby Society, than in the collection of a private individual.¹⁴

It was recommended on 12 September, 1894, "that the Library should be open to members one evening in the month during the winter, under the supervision of the Librarian or other responsible person."¹⁵

In 1896, a "Catalogue of Books, Engravings, Drawings, &c. in possession of the Thoresby Society," was printed in the second volume of *Miscellanea*. It was compiled by Mr. F. G. Harmer,

¹¹ Misc. II.

¹² Report for 1893 (Misc. II).

¹³ Report, 1894 (Misc. II).

¹⁴ Misc. II, p. xiv.

¹⁵ Council Minutes.

a member of the Society. He was at the time headmaster of the Church Middle Class School, in Vernon Road, and later became head of the Cockburn School, in South Leeds.

Through the energetic action of its president, the Thoresby Society secured rooms, along with the Yorkshire Archæological Society, at 10, Park Street, Leeds, for a term of years, at a moderate rent, with an option of purchasing the whole building. The rooms were the Library of the old Medical School, with its ante-room and three rooms on the first floor and the attic in the tower.

The Council first met in the new premises on 19 October, 1896. There were then 279 members on roll. At this time many gifts to the Society were made, including 100 volumes of Local Books, presented by Mr. James Miles, Bookseller, a member of the Society.

In 1896, £31 17s. 11d. was spent on "Furniture, etc." at 10, Park Street.

On 8 December, 1896, the Rev. R. V. Taylor, Vicar of Melbecks, offered to become curator of the Library, at a salary of £150 per year; but the application was not entertained.¹⁶

In 1897 Mr. Samuel Denison is described as "Hon. Librarian and Curator."¹⁷ On 17 November, 1897, it was agreed that the rooms be open for Members on Monday evenings and that notice of it should be sent to the members with the announcement of the lectures.

On 14 November 1898 it was agreed that any printed book lent to a member under Rule 14 should be entered in a proper book for that purpose and signed by the borrower.

The Annual Report for 1898 urges the importance of increasing the Sociey's Library and Collection of objects of interest. Mr. Alderson Smith, of Scarborough, had presented to the Society a valuable collection of MSS. and printed pamphlets which formed part of the collection of Ralph Thoresby. Hope was expressed that many works from Thoresby's Library, still existing in various hands, might ultimately find a permanent home in the Society's Library. Boxes in which to keep the stock of publications were purchased during 1898 for £4 18s. 6d.,

¹⁶ Council Minutes.

¹⁷ General Minutes.

inclusive of lettering. Twenty-two British and Foreign Libraries had become subscribers to the Society during the year, the Council offering a set of the publications from the commencement.

In 1899 the rooms at 10, Park Street, were open for the use of Members every Monday evening, in order that they might have the opportunity of meeting each other. The Hon. Librarian attended on the first Monday in each month, except June to September. At other times application to see books was to be made to the caretaker.¹⁸

By 1901, when the Society had 336 members, the premises at 10, Park Street, had been purchased jointly with the Y.A.S. for £3,000, the Thoresby Society paying half the amount.¹⁹

The premises were acquired for the purpose of enabling the Society to carry out the first of its objects, viz. the "collection and preservation of books, pamphlets, MSS., deeds, engravings, drawings, coins, antiquities, and other objects relating to the town and neighbourhood of Leeds."

An appeal was made to members to assist the Society financially by purchasing back publications to complete their sets. In March, 1901, the Library was stated to be "open to members always."²⁰

On 19 March, 1902, it was resolved that Messrs. Denison, Lancaster and Scattergood form a Library Committee; the Librarian was authorized to purchase another box for lantern slides; the Library Committee was authorized to obtain from the President and to safely dispose in a tin box the documents relating to the formation of the Society. The Annual Report for 1902 asks for a larger measure of co-operation by the members in the work of the Society.

On 5 May 1903 the Secretary was instructed to obtain estimates for the glazing of the bookshelves in the Society's room. It was resolved that the Library Sub-Committee, Messrs. Denison, Lancaster and Scattergood, together with the President (Col. Wilson) be empowered to spend an amount not exceeding £10 per annum in the purchase of additions to the Library; not less

¹⁸ Circular.

¹⁹ Annual Reports, 1900, 1901, Misc. iv.

²⁰ Circular.

than three members of this sub-committee to be agreed as to the advisability of purchasing any book or MS. before such book or MS. is acquired.

On May 14, 1903, Messrs. Denton and Robinson's tender for glazing the doors of the bookcases in the Society's room, for £3 10s. was considered. It was decided to ascertain the weight of glass to be used and, if satisfactory, to have one bookcase glazed experimentally.

On 11 September, 1903, it was resolved to have the remainder of the bookshelves glazed, and that the wire trellis-work be preserved in case it should be required in the future.²¹

Accounts for 1903 include:—

One Year's Rent of Library, Committee and Store

Rooms at 10, Park Street	£20 0s.0d.
Denton & Robinson, glazing six Bookcase Doors	£4 5s. 6d.

On 22nd December 1904 a discussion as to the desirability of printing a fresh catalogue of books, MSS. and antiquarian objects belonging to the Society was deferred to the next meeting.²² But no action appears to have been taken.

Gifts continued to be added to the Library and the Report for 1904 stresses, not for the first time, "that objects in themselves of little intrinsic value may in the aggregate form a local collection of great value and importance."

In 1904 an exhibition of pictures of Kirkstall Abbey and of old Leeds, besides other records and relics of local interest, held in the Society's rooms, was visited by a considerable number of persons, and an increase in membership of the Society resulted.

Lectures were held, as in previous years, and more societies began to exchange publications with the Thoresby Society. The Report for 1904 says "If in every suitable centre there was a "publishing society with a library, exchanging arrangements "would enable every society to have at its own centre a complete "set of the publications of all kindred societies. In this respect "the Thoresby Society is probably the strongest society in the "United Kingdom."

²¹ Council Minutes.

²² Council Minutes.

In 1905 a sum not exceeding £4 was to be spent on additional shelves in the gallery of the Library, the new press to be provided with glazed doors, lock and key.²³ 5s. 6d. was paid to Denton & Robinson for "fixing shelves to bookcase."

The Report for 1905 shows that Col. Wilson, the first President, had retired from office and been succeeded by Mr. John Rawlinson Ford. There were 368 members on roll.

In the Annual Report of 1906 attention was called to the fact that the collection of books, pamphlets, etc., was always open to inspection by members of the Society, the resident housekeeper being ready to give any assistance required. The 1907 Report shows that the Library was not open on Wednesday afternoons. In 1908 the Hon. Librarian and Curator reported an increased interest shown by Members in the Society's collection of Books, Prints and local Antiquities. During the year, increased accommodation had been provided for the safe storage of new acquisitions—the collection making an appearance more worthy of the Society, larger, more useful and more valuable.

During 1909 the Society's premises were lighted by electricity in place of gas. Payments included Geo. Oakes & Son, for "Door under staircase and cupboard, £4-11-0."

The Report for 1910 stated that the Library was accessible to Members daily, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., except on Wednesdays when it was closed at 1 p.m.

On March 12, 1912, it was decided to allow the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and the Yorkshire Parish Register Society the joint use of the top room in the tower at the rent of £5 a year, payable by each Society in equal proportions.²⁴

In 1913, Mr. William Pape presented to the Society some armorial glass, designed by William Boyne, F.S.A., in 1852. It came from the Manor House, Headingley, and was mounted in window screens in the Committee Room, Library and Passage at 10, Park Street. It was removed to 16, Queen Square, in 1925, and refixed there at Mr. Pape's expense. The Hon. Librarians reported that very few additions to the Society's library and general collection had been made during 1913 and invited suitable presentations. The following year there was a good increase.

²³ Council Minutes.

²⁴ Council Minutes.

In 1914, Mr. Denison was joined, as Hon. Librarian and Curator, by Mr. James Singleton, who compiled the "General Index to the first six volumes of the *Miscellanea*," published in Vol. xxii of the Society's publications.

In 1915, about 1,000 old deeds and documents and numerous antiquarian books were received. After much consideration of Library accommodation, it was agreed, on 10 June, 1915, that the Y.A.S. have the sole use of the bookcases and cupboards in the large room and the joint use of the large room for meetings, etc., the joint use of the Committee Room, and its present storage in the basement and to pay a rent of £50 per annum. The Thoresby Society to have the sole use of Room No. 10 in the Tower, the joint use of the Committee Room, its present storage in the basement and the occasional use of the large room for meetings as at present and to pay a rent of £15 per annum. The bookcases erected by the T.S. and the improvements in the bookcases made by the T.S. in the large room to become the joint property of the two Societies. Sufficient bookcase accommodation with glazed doors for the T.S. present collection to be erected in Room No. 10 at the expense of the Y.A.S., the cases when erected to be the joint property of the two Societies. The rents paid by the two Societies to be brought into hotch potch and divided equally between them.²⁵

On 1 September, 1915, it was reported that Dr. J. E. Eddison had offered to present annual reports of the West Riding Justices to the Society. The offer was declined with thanks, on account of insufficient library accommodation.

On 9 October, 1917, it was agreed to purchase a fireproof safe for the preservation of the more valuable MSS. and other relics belonging to the Society. Library steps were presented by Dr. Eddison in 1917.

In 1920, Messrs. Denison and Singleton were succeeded by Miss Emily Hargrave, as Hon. Librarian and Curator. She was a most diligent, painstaking and successful custodian, attending every Thursday and assisting members in their researches. During her term of office gifts increased; she was herself a considerable donor; more members visited the library and the collection of pictures, etc., assumed attractive aspects. Books were loaned to members—they had previously been mainly for reference only.

²⁵ Typescript sheet in Council Minute Book.

Books were first purchased for the library under the bequest of Mr. W. T. Lancaster, who died in 1920, in 1922. The gifts presented to the Society in 1923 represented the greatest number received in any single year—about 75 items.

In August, 1925, the sale of the property at 10, Park Street, Leeds, jointly owned by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and the Thoresby Society, was successfully effected, the Y.A.S. removing to 10, Park Place and the Thoresby Society to 16, Queen Square. Miss Hargrave, with the assistance of several members, was responsible for the packing of the books and general collection and for its re-establishment in the new house. The new premises were obtained, with vacant possession, for £900, after legal services gratuitously rendered by Mr. G. D. Lumb. They underwent alteration, redecoration, fitting with electric light, at a cost of about £250. The property, erected between 1815 and 1817, was formerly the residence of William Boyne, F.S.A., the well-known antiquary and numismatist.²⁶ Mr. Boyne had been elected a life-member of the Society in 1891. He died two years later.

The Library bookcases and other fittings were transferred from Park Street to Queen Square.

Two Adam mantelpieces were given to the Society—one acquired by Mr. Lumb from Osmondthorpe Old Hall was erected in the Library in 1925; the other, presented by Mr. Paul Pulleyne, was erected in the Lecture Room in April, 1926. Mr. Lumb presented to the Society furniture hitherto in his office—including a roll-top desk, a chest of drawers, and some chairs—also a deed chest.²⁷ All are in use to-day.

From 1926 to 1932, when he died, Mr. Lakeland Whinkup acted as deputy curator to Miss Hargrave and rendered much useful service to the Society.²⁸ He is also remembered in Leeds as a music dealer, in Cookridge Street. Mr. Whinkup bequeathed to the Society his collection of antiquarian books and other objects.²⁹

²⁶ Wm. Boyne lived here 1817-1826; then at Victoria Cottage, Little Woodhouse. But in 1842 his address was again at Queen Square—until about 1849. See *T.S. Miscellanea XXXIII*, 228.

²⁷ Council Minutes, March 11, 1926.

²⁸ Mr. H. W. Thompson, Hon. Sec., had acted as Hon. Curator of 10, Park Place from 1918 to 1925.

²⁹ Council Minutes, April 7, 1932.

The membership had declined after the war of 1914-1918, but by 1927 there were on roll 395 members. At that period the library was open to members every Tuesday from 10 a.m. to noon and on Thursdays at the same time and also from 2 to 4 p.m. when the Hon. Librarian or her assistant were in attendance. On 6 October, 1932, the offer of Mr. John W. Walker to catalogue the Society's collection of books, pamphlets, &c., for the sum of £22 10s. was accepted.³⁰

On 20 April, 1933, it was agreed that the Library be open also on Thursday evenings, 7 to 9 p.m. Mr. J. W. Walker had been appointed Hon. Assistant Librarian to Miss Hargrave—having retired from his post at the Leeds Public Reference Library.

In 1933, owing to the large accession of books, an island bookcase was erected in the library at a cost of £36 10s.³¹

It was resolved, 22 June, 1933, that discretionary powers be given to the Librarian and Assistant Librarian to permit the borrowing of books by members, on condition that such books are entered in a loan book to be provided for the purpose and signed by the borrower.³² The Librarian and Assistant Librarian were authorized, in case of emergency, to purchase books for the Library, provided that the cost of any book did not exceed 10s.³³

Authority was given, 5 April, 1934, for the purchase of two boxes for lantern slides. On 14 June, 1934, it was resolved that the Library hours be Tuesday 11 a.m. to 3 p.m.; Thursday, 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. and 7 to 9 p.m. In 1934 Miss Hargrave died and was succeeded by Mr. Walker, as Hon. Librarian.

The Report for 1935 shows that "books can be borrowed from the Library with the exception of certain volumes, on application to the Librarian."

On 29 April, 1936, consideration of the question of printing the Catalogue of the Society's Library, or, alternatively, having a card index typed, was adjourned for the submission of estimates of cost.³⁴

Owing to ill-health, the Librarian (Mr. Walker) had been absent for several months during the summer and autumn of 1939, and the Council invited me to take over his duties, acting as

³⁰ Council Minutes.

³¹ Council Minutes, June 22, 1933.

³² *ibid.*

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ *ibid.*

Assistant Librarian. I commenced on 19 October, attending every Tuesday and Thursday, from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m.; but the evening session was not continued. I was frequently in touch with Mr. Walker, who afforded valuable assistance and information.

There were three main tasks to be performed:—

- 1—The general re-arrangement and tidying of the Society's Collection—much had been left unfinished owing to Mr. Walker's illness;
- 2—The completion of a Card Catalogue of printed books and pamphlets, for which Mr. Walker had prepared a foundation;
- 3—The compilation of a General Index to the Society's Publications.

Mr. Walker resigned the librarianship in January, 1940—he died about five months later. I was appointed Hon. Librarian, in his place, at the Annual Meeting of 1940.

Meanwhile, a small Library Committee had been formed, which gave valuable advice about the future policy of the Society in regard to serial publications exchanged with other Societies. It was decided to eliminate a number of those not relating to the North of England and to suitably dispose of them. At a special meeting of members, approval was given to the alteration of Rule 15, by which property of the Society might be disposed of.

Many runs of Societies' publications were thus presented to the Leeds University, the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and the National Central Library in London.

A moveable bookcase was transferred from the Library to the Council Room and a new fixture book-case, of the same design as the others, was erected in its place, at a cost of about £18. This allowed considerably more shelf room for serial publications and miscellaneous books, with sufficient space for expansion. Special boxes were procured for classified pamphlets.

The Yorkshire books and pamphlets, the serial runs and some others, were press-marked and arranged in the Library proper. And then there remained a number of volumes, such as the Rolls Series, Record Commission publications and Calendars of State Papers and various miscellaneous works, for which more accommodation was awaited.

In June, 1941, shelving was generously and unexpectedly provided by Mr. H. M. Hepworth, a member of the Society, and erected, at his expense, in the Council Room.

Many duplicates have been disposed of to members and others.

The Card Catalogue of printed books and pamphlets was made available to members at the end of September, 1941. It is contained in steel filing drawers specially purchased by the Society, a duplicate catalogue being preserved elsewhere for safety.

In the same month a "Jubilee Index" of the Society's publications, 1889-1939, compiled by the Librarian, was published. Such a general index had been proposed in 1928,³⁵ but no action was then taken.

The help of the Library Committee, now elected annually, has been most valuable; and much has thereby been achieved in the way of disposal, to individuals or societies, of items of non-local or remote interest; and a certain amount of paper and metal have been consigned to national salvage. By the authority of the Council, the Library Committee decides the suitability of gifts offered to the Society.

In recent years the Librarian has undertaken the cataloging or listing of the Society's collection of maps, plans, sheet pedigrees, pictures, printer's blocks, plaster casts, play-bills, etc. It is hoped that the large number of deeds will be arranged, in due course, by our member, Miss Amy G. Foster, City Archivist of Leeds. The lantern slides, largely illustrating old Leeds, and lately increased in number, were listed by the late Mr. A. Mattison and Mr. J. B. Place. And additions have since been made. The miscellaneous objects of interest have received the attention of Mr. J. Digby Firth, who inaugurated a collection of local commemorative medals in 1943.

In that year the Council approved a set of Library rules. Later it was agreed that manuscripts and other unique material might only be removed from the premises by a member of the Council, others must obtain special permission from the Council.³⁶

In 1946 portraits of all the past presidents of the Society were acquired, framed, and erected in the Council Room.

³⁵ Council Minutes.

³⁶ Library Minutes, May 23, 1946.

The Library resources, sometimes augmented, have been used to illustrate the Winter Lectures held in the Society's rooms.

Our Library, which contains well over three thousand items, includes a number of general Yorkshire books or works relating to large districts, such as Allen's History of Yorkshire (6 vols.), the Victoria County History; Smith's Old Yorkshire; Memorials of Old Yorkshire, by various contributors; Dr. Whitaker's Loidis and Elmet and Craven; the Airedale, Craven and Wharfedale books by Harry Speight and Edmund Bogg; Hunter's Hallamshire and South Yorkshire; Poulson's Holderness; Walker's Costume of Yorkshire (1814); Musical Works, Miscellaneous books relating to the City of York and places in the three Ridings—but the majority refer to Leeds and the West Riding; Acts of Parliament of the 18th and 19th centuries concerning Leeds and neighbourhood; many local histories and guide books, from the *Ducatus Leodiensis* of Ralph Thoresby (1715)—we have his own copy—to those issued in recent years. There is a good selection of Leeds and West Riding Directories of various dates; a set of the Yorkshire Parish Register Society's volumes and other printed registers; Medieval and later wills of various parts of Yorkshire include those of Leeds (in our own Society's publications), York and Halifax, besides those printed by the Surtees Society.

There are also biographies, peerages, pedigrees, visitations and other genealogical and heraldic works—also regimental histories, poetry, sermons of local interest; works relating to ecclesiology and architecture, as well as roads, Roman Antiquities and coins.

There is a long run of the Rolls Series, a very few Calendars of State Papers, the Journals of the Royal Archæological Institute, the Society of Antiquaries of London, and the British Archæological Association. With a number of Northern County and Local societies we exchange publications, or, in a few cases, subscribe.

A few books, once in the Library, are missing, and have not been traced.

Some of our runs of serial publications are incomplete and we are rather short of genealogical and heraldic publications. One part of the third volume of Clay's edition of Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire is wanting, and our copy of "Bailedon and the Baildons" remains unbound owing to incompleteness. We lack the early series, 1500-1714, of Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

More recent accessions include papers relating to Leeds Methodism, "Local Notes & Queries" from the *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement* (mounted in 59 note books); Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*, six vols., 1898-1905; *English Men & Manners in the 18th century* and *Johnson's England*, both by the late Prof. A. S. Turberville, presented in memory of the author's presidency of the Society; Records of Communion Plate and of Parochial Documents of several local churches; Photo-reflex copies of Leeds Civic Charters, 1661 and 1684.

The manuscripts include much unpublished material of local interest—there are large sections relating to Bramley and Hunslet—but some items have appeared in print in the Society's publications. A Catalogue of the manuscripts, prepared by the Librarian, may be consulted.

It is now hoped that the collection of the Society will form the basis of a Bibliography of Leeds, a scheme envisaged by some of the earliest of our members.

There are numerous pictures, maps and plans, a series of drawings of Old Leeds made and presented in 1899 by Mr. Percy Robinson, also Leeds and District photographs taken and presented by Mr. H. G. Grainger in 1947.

No attempt has been made to enumerate the many generous gifts to the Society's collections; further particulars will be found in the Annual Reports.

At present the Society's collections may be said to be adequately housed, but additional accessions will call for increased accommodation. The Library Committee would appreciate a preliminary enquiry from intending donors before gifts are submitted for the Committee's approval.

HON. LIBRARIANS AND CURATORS OF THE SOCIETY'S COLLECTIONS.

1889-1890	REV. CHARLES HARGROVE.
1890-1893	WILLIAM THOMAS LANCASTER.
1893-1920	SAMUEL DENISON.
1914-1920	JAMES SINGLETON.
1920-1934	EMILY HARGRAVE.

Assistants : L. WHINKUP, 1926-1932;
J. W. WALKER, 1933-1934.

1934-1940 JOHN WILLIAM WALKER.
Assistant: G. E. KIRK, 1939-1940.
1940- GEORGE EDWARD KIRK

[COPY]

THORESBY SOCIETY: LIBRARY RULES.

March, 1943.

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5. Lantern slides may be borrowed on application to the Librarian or his deputy.

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[Confirmed by the Council at a Meeting held 16th February, 1943]

“A Poem descriptive of the Manners of the Clothiers, written about the year 1730”

Seated some hundred yards from Leeds,
Crowded with those industrious breeds,
Turning my bobbin wheel among
The merry Clothiers’ greasy throng,
With wooden platter, bowl and ladle,
All seated round a scowered table;
Hard oaten cakes, some two or three,
In pieces fly, with fist and knee,
Tho’ hard, it in an instant doth
Eat like soft Munchet in the broth.
Ere Tom or Jack have supped their mess,
With quick large strides comes prentice Bess,
Who, on earthen dish, with leg of mutton,
As good as knife was ever put in—
Each cuts a lunch, none care to inch it—
‘First come, first serv’d’—They never flinch it!
Nor use they many words at meat,
But cram like Capors while they eat!
All rise well pleased with their cheer,
Then march to the Spicket-Pot for beer,
When quench’d their thirst they quickly go,
And thro’ the Web the Shuttle throw,
Thus they keep time with hand and feet
From five at morn till Eight at *neet*!
Then call’d down e’er the clock gives warning,
On (or) Broth is on the fire a’warming,
Their wooden clogs like horses sound,
Beset the savoury wash-tub round;
Then washing well i’th’ savoury tub,
It scowers well upon my word,
Then *wrinceing* them in dish of water
They comb their hair, and tie their garter
And dried ‘em on a towel ‘clean.
To supper then they all come in
Master and Dame too being there
Among the rest to take their share,
And while they’re all at supper set,
Bess, a pan of water get

And set it on the fire to heat
 To wash all clean, and keep all sweet.
 Quoth Maister—"Lads, work hard, I pray,
 "Cloth munbe pearch'd next market-day,
 "And Tom mun go to-morn to t'spinners,
 "And Will mun seek about for t'swingers ;
 "And Jack, to-morn, by time be rising,
 "And go to t'sizing house for sizing,
 "And get you web, in warping, done
 "That ye may get it into t'loom.
 "Joe—go give my horse some corn
 "For I design for t'Wolds to-morn ;
 "So mind and clean my boots and shoon,
 "For I'll be up it'morn right *soon*!
 "Mary—there's wool—tak thee and dye it
 "It's that 'at liggs i th' clouted sheet!"

Mistress : "So thou's setting me my wark,
 "I think I'd more need mend thy sark,
 "Prithie, who mun sit at' bobbin wheel?
 "And ne'er a cake at top o' th' creel !
 "And we to bake, and swing, to blend,
 "And milk, and barns to school to send,
 "And dumplins for the lads to mak,
 "And yeast to seek, and "syk as that!"
 "And washing up, morn, noon and neet,
 "And bowls to scald, and milk to fleet,
 "And barns to fetch again at neet!"

Master : "When 'thou begins thou's never done!
 "Bessy and thee mun get up soon,
 "And stir about and get all done,
 "For all things mun aside be laid—
 "When we want help about our trade."

Wife : "Why Bairn—we'll see what we can do
 "But we hav' both to wesh and brew
 "And shall want Malt, Hops, Soap and Blue
 "And thou'll be 'most a week away,
 "And I's hev' all t'wark folk to pay."

Master : "Let paying for their wark alone,
 "I'll pay 'em all when I come home.—
 "Keep t'lads at wark and tak' this purse
 "And set down what thou dös't disburse,
 "That we may not run hand ow'r head—
 "Bess says we want some Corn for bread,
 "Wha fetch down t'meal that is i' th' ark,
 "And let's get done before it's dark."

Barns in bed, and supper done,
 And Bessy wash'd up dish & spoon,
 Quoth Dame, "come let us go to Joe's,
 "To talk and hear how matters goes?"
 Dame and Maister out being gone,
 Comes Will and Jack and Joe and Tom,
 Our neighbour Joey's lad and lass,
 In mirth an hour or so to pass.
 All sitting round a good coal fire,
 More free from care than Knight or Squire,
 The 'bacco-box is then pull'd out,
 For *chew*, and pipe to hand about.
 Some fill their pipe, and some their lip,
 And all begin to talk and *spit*!
 Quoth Tom,—"Lads' while ye all do quaff,
 "I'll tell ye what'll mak' ye laugh!
 "To our house cam' one Sammy Shorty,
 "To borrow our Maister's eight-and-forty!
 "We were throng teeming cloth at tenters,
 [? Line wanting ?]
 "Maister wer squeezing out swine-muck,
 "Which was the cause of Sam's ill luck,
 "For standing close to t'maister's shoulder,
 "Setting his foot upon a boulder,
 "Pressing on 't with all his might,
 "Which caus'd the stone to take its flight,
 "Leaving poor Sam, who straight did fall
 "Into the tub of muck and all!
 "Sammy aloud for help did call,
 "Just in the nick of time came Hall,
 "With a bag of *Saunders* on his back
 "Hearing the groan poor Sam did mack,
 "Down bag of *Saunders* he did lie
 "Upon a swinging truss hard by,
 "The *hartshorn* which from that did rise,
 "Directly flew into his eyes,
 "Which caus'd great pain, spite of resistance,
 "Tho both hands fly to their assistance.
 "At length Sam from the tub did rush,
 "And ran again' the swinging truss,
 "Which made the poor man's head tun round
 "And threw him flat upon the ground.
 "Then truss'd *Saunders* following after—
 "They all set up a roar of laughter!
 "The bag burst open with the fall,
 "And this upon poor Sam, did, all
 "From head to foot him so be-spread

"Quite changed his mucky hue to red—
 "But he, by help of all, did rise,
 "And fall to scrubbing of his eyes :—
 "Being almost spent with pain and toil,
 "He staggering fell against the *coil*. 'coal' (ms. annot.)
 "Which showering down, like hail, so thick
 "Had not our Maister Hall been quick,
 "He sure enough had there been slain—
 "Howe'er they rais'd him sound again,
 "And all way homeward as he went,
 "He carried the savoury wash-tub scent,
 "Not only some thought him, but every,
 "Harry, Groom of *Stole*, in Livery,
 "Being cover'd all with red and black,
 "And the eight-and-forty on his back !
 "Some that saw him, even Tom the Drovier
 "Swore that 'Black Harry' was turn'd Clothier !"

Thus they do themselves well please,
 With telling such like tales as these !
 Or passing of a merry joke
 Till ten gives warning by the clock {
 And Bess sit mending up her smock,
 Then up they start—to bed they run,
 Maister and Dame home being come;
 They sleep secure until the horn
 Calls 'em to work betimes i' th' morn,
 Ere clock strikes eight they're call'd to breakfast
 And bowls of milk are brought in great haste—
 Good Water-Pudding as heart could wish
 With spoons stuck round an earthen dish—
 Maister gives orders to all in full,
 Sets out to t' Wolds, to buy his wool,
 And while the good man is away, {
 The neighbour-wives all set a day, {
 To meet, and drink a dish of Tea ! (ms. white)
 With Dame, while she is left a Widow,
 As neighbours should—without being bid, you know.
 "We ne'er stand knocking—Mistress, how do ye ?
 "Thank you and you—I am glad to see ye !
 "Pray walk in, put off your things,
 "Bess, get beforehand with the bobbins—
 "Pray ye, walk into the other room,
 "What stand ye for ? come, set ye down !"
 When they have sat and chat awhile,
 The kettle is brought in to boil,
 The Tea-Table in order spread,

Rolls, butter'd, cold, and some toasted !
 "Bohea or Green—Mixed or clear?
 "Which you please—so pray draw near!"

So we will leave them at their ease,
 And to discourse on what they please—
 For to conclude I think it best,
 And let my *Muse return to rest.*

(From a M.S. in the possession of John Bischoff, Esq., Leeds).

The 'Poem' is printed from a manuscript which forms one item in a volume of pieces entitled "Matters of Interest to the Town of Leeds," collected by Griffith Wright, Junior, after he had relinquished the proprietorship of the *Leeds Intelligencer*. On a preliminary leaf he has inscribed the date 1839, but the dates of the pieces lie between 1748 and 1850, with the exception of the 'Poem' (whose date will be mentioned presently), so that the year 1839 may be simply the date at which Wright began to collect his items. Most of the pieces are printed, but there are a few manuscript items (and even the printed pieces are annotated in manuscript), among which is the 'Poem.' It was copied, according to a note at the end, 'from a MS. in the possession of John Bischoff, Esq., Leeds,' and the date 1730 must have been at the head of Bischoff's manuscript, which is presumed to be lost. There seems to be no reason to doubt the authenticity of the poem or its original dating. The Bischoffs were prominent wool merchants in Leeds during the Industrial Revolution, and it was James Bischoff who compiled the well-known *History of the Woollen and Worsted Manufactures*, published in 1842. Wright's collection is now in the possession of the Leeds Public Library, by whose courtesy the poem is here printed *in extenso*.

It was quoted, in part and with some slight textual alterations, by Professor Herbert Heaton in his *Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries** (1920) and the date 1730 was not questioned. Dr. Heaton's aim was to use the poem to give a more intimate description of the life and labour of the Yorkshire woollen cloth makers, in the days before the factory system had become predominant, than was provided elsewhere in contemporary literature. In accordance with this aim, he left out as inappropriate to his theme, that part of the poem which recounts the

* Chap. X, 'The processes of manufacture,' pp. 344-7.

unhappy adventure of Sammy Shorty as told by Tom for the amusement of his fellow-workmen in their evening hour of relaxation. The poem is here reprinted whole, as far as it is decipherable (for the hand is small and spidery, and the copyist seems to have made one or two slips), for the delectation of another century which may sometimes look back on the days before the Industrial Revolution as a kind of golden age. Modern writers of textbooks on economic and social history are only too ready, and quite rightly, to remind us that that age and the domestic system which was characteristic of it, were far from idyllic; Professor Heaton, in the book we have quoted, and Professor Mantoux, in his classic work on the Industrial Revolution, give sufficient evidence to show that there was little glamour about that system. Indeed, the point of Sammy's misfortune turns on an unsavoury aspect of it.

And yet, even from this short poem, there is something to be gleaned about the old ways which is not unattractive: the homeliness, the bustle, the plain-speaking of the members of the household, master and mistress mixing familiarly with the work-folk, the delight in robust humour and forthright speech. This anonymous and simple lay is rather crude in execution and would doubtless not have merited the approbation of the Tonsons and the Dodsleys of the day, even if, perhaps, it might have commended itself to the late John Hartley. With all its faults, it is given now for its antiquarian interest rather than its literary style, as a picture of a vanished phase of local life and as a specimen of the colloquial language used, and the kind of jest enjoyed, by our townsmen a couple of centuries ago. For a brief moment we catch a glimpse of these old Loiners at their ease, seated round a blazing fire in a dimly lit room, puffing or chewing their tobacco after having satisfied their large appetites at the board; illiterate, perhaps, but always ready for some robust tale in the Chaucerian manner, or, if the company were restricted to ladies only, not averse to having a good "call."

F. B.

BRIEF GLOSSARY AND NOTES.

E.D.D.—J. Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*.

O.E.D.—The *Oxford, or New, English Dictionary*.

ARK. A chest in which to put corn, fruit, etc. (E.D.D.).

CAPORS. Cappers (?); those who "cap" or excel?

CLOUTED. The E.D.D. gives examples of the use of this word to mean "patched." Cf. (Robinson), *Dialect of Leeds*, 269.

CREEL. Wooden framework hung near the roof, on which clothes and cakes of oat-bread were hung to dry. (Heaton; W. Smith's *Morley*, 97 and 112; J. Lawson, *Letters to the Young on Progress in Pudsey* (1887), 29). One of the plates in Walker's *Costumes of Yorkshire* ("Woman making Oat Cakes") provides an excellent illustration.

EARTHEN. Earthenware, the O.E.D. quoting an example of its use in this sense in 1527.

FLEET. Skim (O.E.D.; *Dialect of Leeds*, 294; Easther, 47).

GROOM OF THE STOLE. On this royal office, see a long correspondence in *Notes and Queries*, 11th series, vols. viii-ix, and the O.E.D., "Stole, sb. 2." There was formerly, it seems, some confusion between "stole" and "stool" in relation to the office; this fact, and its implications, taken with the reference to "Black" Harry (sometimes euphemistically styled also "Old" Harry, or, in plain terms, the Devil) makes the combination of allusions in the poem very apt and not a little clever, especially with the added touches deriving from red saunders and strange odours.

HARTSHORN. Formerly the chief source of ammonia (O.E.D.).

HORN. The antecedent of the modern buzzer, used to summon workers in the morning and to announce the end of the day's working time. Heaton quotes its use locally in the West Riding until well into the nineteenth century; Mayhall, *Annals* (1, 122), gives an example from the year 1734/5.

INCH. Be sparing. The supplement to the E.D.D. quotes the phrase "inching and pinching."

MAK. Make.

MUN. Must.

MUNCHET. Copyist's error for Manchet, a small loaf of white bread, a hot cake, a muffin (E.D.D.).

NEET. Night.

OATEN CAKE. Havercake (Heaton); cf. Lawson, p. 8, Smith, p. 97 and 108; and Easther, who supplies instructions how to make, p. xx. See also "Creel" above, for reference to an illustration in Walker.

PEARK. The E.D.D., under "Perk" (with variant spellings) quotes many uses of the term in the West Riding to signify "to examine cloth thoroughly to discover any defects in it." Under "Perch" it has further illustrations; this consisted of "two uprights and a cross-beam of wood, for propping up sawn boards for drying; a wooden frame or pole over which pieces of cloth are pulled in order to examine them thoroughly. Heaton gives a similar explanation; cf. Cudworth Bradford, (1876), 356; A. Easther's *Glossary of the Dialect of Almondbury and Huddersfield* (1883); or Lawson p. 33.

SAMMY. In nineteenth century Leeds, used for any "soft" sort of fellow (*Dialect of Leeds*, p. 397); the poem may, or may not, use the name in this sense.

SARK. Shirt.

SAUNDERS. See O.E.D. under "Saunders" and "Red Saunders."

SIZING. Used to treat warp with, to strengthen it before putting into the loom (Heaton).

SPICKET-POT. Spigot-pot (O.E.D.).

SWINGER. To "swinge" is to beat with a rod (O.E.D.; *Dialect of Leeds*; cf. Crump and Ghorbal).

SYK. Such.

TEEM. The general meaning is to empty, still in common use (O.E.D. and E.D.D.). Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 29 explains it thus, referring to nineteenth century practice: "when dried the cloth had to be 'teemed,' which means being taken off and laid on the grass to get the dew and pulled along to clean it, to give a proper *handle* or *touch* to the merchandise." This was after tentering.

TENTER. *Dialect of Leeds*, p. 432, or, indeed, any work on the history of the trade.

TUN. Turn.

WARK. Work.

WATER-PUDDING. Water-Porridge or pottage? (O.E.D.).

YEAST. For baking, and probably for brewing herb beer and other drinks which are still consumed in the West Riding according to Heaton.

Full descriptions of the domestic system in the eighteenth century wool trade will be found in Heaton's chapter quoted above and in Crump and Ghorbals, *History of the Huddersfield Woollen Industry* (1935), and contemporary references are in Defoe's *Tour* and Dyer's poem *The Fleece*; accounts of early nineteenth century practice are in Easter's *Glossary* (in the preface, often quoted) or Lawson's book on Pudsey noted above. There is a contemporary engraving which shows some of the processes of manufacture mentioned in the poem in G. W. Morris and L. S. Wood, *The Golden Fleece* (1921), p. 98, reproduced from the *Universal Magazine* of 1749.

“Pendavid Bitterzwigg:” John Berkenhout

In volume XXII part 1, of our publications, issued for 1912, the late G. D. Lumb reprinted *Three Original Poems: Being the Posthumous Works of Pendavid Bitterzwigg* from a rare copy which is now in the Society's library. In some brief prefatory remarks, he suggested that the author who used this curious pseudonym might possibly be Francis Fawkes, but he adduced no reason for arriving at this conclusion, and there is neither evidence in the tract to support it nor any independent evidence even to hint at it.*¹ The copy he had used was, he said “the only one which he” had seen or heard of at the time, and he noted that bound up with it was another cognate work, which he did not reprint, although it, too, concerned Leeds: this was *A Pastoral Poem, by Pendavid Bitterzwigg Junior Esq.*, published in 1765, reprinted in the pages which follow.

After he had printed the *Three Original Poems*, Lumb discovered that in the Leeds Public Library there was another copy of the *Junior's* poem, which contained some brief manuscript notes; one of these disclosed the fact that “Pendavid Bitterzwigg” was really John Berkenhout; and this information Lumb noted in the copy now possessed by the Society, but did not print it. Recently, the Leeds Public Library has acquired another copy of the *Three Original Poems* containing more ample manuscript additions which place the authorship beyond reasonable doubt and make an addendum to Lumb's reprint desirable: they not only give the fact of the true authorship and the identifications of the persons alluded to in the text (the latter were also in Lumb's copy), but supply a biographical account of the author which, coming from the hand of a son of a personal friend, can be accepted as authentic. This friend was J. Adamson, and his notes on the poem, transcribed into the Public Library's copy, together with certain observations from another hand (given below in square brackets), are as follows:—

*¹For an account of Fawkes, with bibliography, see Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, III (1812), 51-2, a main source of R. V. Taylor's notice of Fawkes in the *Biographia Leodiensis*, p. 174.

"J. Adamson. The following Jeux d'esprit, entitled "Pendavid Bitterzwigg," are the production of John Berkenhout, Esqr., the very intimate friend of the Father of the person who writes this note. [They were written in the Year 1750]. He was the son of an eminent and opulent merchant at Leeds, in the County of York; and, having received an University Education, was designed to succeed his Father in the Mercantile line, and as the Manager of the valuable concerns in the Aire and Calder Navigations at Leeds and Wakefield. Upon the death of his Father, when he should have renewed his term, as the Lessee in these undertakings, he was prevailed upon by Old Lawyer Wilson, of that place, the father of the late Recorder, and of the late Bishop of Bristol, to let him [the Recorder his pretended friend], as his friend, come forward alone, as a Bidder—as too many candidates and an appearance of too great avidity, would only tend to enhance the Rent.

To this the youth, unsuspecting and inexperienced in the arts of designing men, too readily assented. And, the bargain being concluded at the White Hart in Wakefield, he was not only denied being the Principal for whom Wilson was employed, but even the privileges of becoming a partner at all.

Suffice it to say, that, from these valuable navigations, the late Peter Birt, Esqr., of Airmine, and of Wenvoe Castle, in Wales, realised his Immense Fortune. And the present possessors receive from the profits of them, which they have now in their own hands, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty per cent. on stock; then estimated at 2000 per annum.*²

To this jilting poor Berkenhout so emphatically alludes in the Title Page, and indeed through the whole of the two last Poetical Pieces. See the beautiful quotation from Ovid's Art of Love in the Title page. Disappointed and almost Distracted at his Credulity and the consequence of it, he sought to flee from his friends and himself by entering into the Army [He served under the G.nal Frederic of Prussia and quitting that service] He became Captain of a Company in the 24th Regiment of Foot. Afterwards, having spent some time abroad, he took his diploma of M.D. [in the University of Leyden in the year 1765]. In

*² An adequate history of the Aire and Calder Navigation Company is still a desideratum. There are notes on Milner and his purchase of Nunappleton in D. H. Atkinson's *Ralph Thoresby* and R. V. Taylor's *Biographia Leodiensis*.

In *A Volume of Letters from Dr. Berkenhout to his Son at the University* (1790), it is related (p. 178): "Many years ago I had the pleasure of being acquainted with a Mr. Roebuck of Heath, near Wakefield in Yorkshire, a gentleman of fortune and a gentleman fidler . . . I mean a scraper, for such gentleman fiddlers generally are. "Damn it," he would say, "those rascally composers invented these Cliffs on purpose to puzzle gentlemen . . ." John Roebuck, as mentioned above, was the "Buck" of the *Three Original Poems*.

this profession he practised, in the year 1765 ; and wrote many Medical Tracts. [He was long eminent in the Literary and Scientific world]. But he was most famous for his Studies in British Natural History, and especially upon Ornithology ; upon which subjects he several times published. In the following Fable of The Fox, Jackall, etc., The Fox is Wilson, the Cub his Son, the Jackall the Author, the Ox Sir Henry Ibbetson, the Buck John Roebuck, Esqr., of Heath, the Goat his neighbour John Smith, Esqr., and Cotton and Dick Cotton Sir William Milner. "In ample field of Snowy Hart" means the White Hart Inn at Wakefield."

I think "The Aire" is an elegant poem, and especially the apostrophe, or personification of that river very classical and beautiful ; a few very insignificant metrical and grammatical errors excepted ; which from the youth of the Poet, and the embittered state of his mind, deserve every extenuation. The contractions in that Poem are Sir William Milner, of Nun-appleton, Bart., Kirkstall Abbey, and Leeds. This epistle to Sir Will, under the well chosen analogue of Old Neptunes virgin Daughter, Aire, wanting a husband, and choosing our youthful Poet, prepares the mind of the reader for the development of his history and disappointments in the ensuing Fable."

There is also another brief note from this 'second' hand, which begins by repeating the identifications noted above, but goes on to add the following particulars :—

" . . . As to the Sequel of the History of this very eminent and good man (Dr. Berkenhout) I have only to observe that he went out with the Commissioners to America where by the Congress he was imprisoned. For this and other Services he received a Pension from our Government. (From Mr. Adamson's Autograph in another copy).

Died 3rd Ap.1 1791 at Busselsleigh near Oxford where he had gone for change of air in his 61st year. Dr. John Berkenhout long distinguished in the Literary World for his productions in various Sciences."

These notes add little to the particular information supplied by Lumb from his copy, at least about the references made obliquely in the poems ; yet they do provide a background against which those references and the whole spirit of the poems may be better appreciated. In view of them, some of the allusions become more than ironic, they become tragic : the 'last will' and the 'death of Pendavid' seem really to mean the death of his hopes and the emptiness of a bankrupt's bequests. The loss of this office had a profound effect upon Berkenhout : it not only produced the

poems with all their mingled bitterness and light-heartedness, but sent him packing abroad, smarting and rankling under his shabby treatment. The resentment was evidently not forgotten, even if it was forgiven, in 1765.

Richard Wilson, the RYCO of the poem, principal object of Berkenhout's attack, died in April 1761, at the age of eighty-four.*³ He had been Recorder of the town for thirty-two years, having received the appointment late in 1729, "in the room of John Walker, Esq., deceased," as the *Intelligencer* briefly recorded.*⁴ But behind this bland statement lies the story of an unhappy episode very similar to the one which concerned Berkenhout: as he had been ill-used by Wilson, so Wilson in his turn had been ill-used, at one time, by Walker. This had happened as the result not so much of personal, as of party, intrigue, for in the controversy over the election of a Recorder to succeed Thoresby's intimate friend Thornton in 1710-11, Wilson, nominated by the Corporation, had been ousted from office in favour of Walker. Walker had been able to produce a Queen's patent, which made his claim to office irresistible, in consequence of the intervention of the High Sheriff, Nevile, who had misrepresented to the Duke of Leeds and Her Majesty that the members of Leeds Corporation were Whigs, at a time when that designation was anathema to those in power. The country was in a ferment over the Sacheverell affair, and it is very possible that there was some truth in the accusation.*⁵ Rather oddly, Walker and Wilson were cousin and nephew to Thoresby: but consanguinity with Thoresby was no guarantee of saintliness.*⁶

It is more pleasant to turn from these crafty gentlemen of Leeds Corporation to consider very briefly one or two facts in the career of John Berkenhout himself, whose fame is more secure than that of many Leeds worthies, but whose biography is by no means adequately known. There is no need here to provide a lengthy account of him, nor, indeed, is such an account possible

*³ *Leeds Intelligencer*, April 21, 1761. Thoresby Soc., XXVIII, 144.

*⁴ *ibid.*, December 9, 1729. Thoresby Soc., XXIV, 74.

*⁵ D. H. Atkinson, *Ralph Thoresby*, II, 36 ff. for details. There are brief but valuable notes on Wilson in R. V. Taylor, *op. cit.*, 200. The Wilson pedigree repays attention; one of this Richard Wilson's sons became a bishop and the other succeeded his father in the Recordership of Leeds, as noted above. Of course, family interest was considerable in the days when Leeds Corporation was still a "close" body.

*⁶ Atkinson, *op. cit.*, I, 347.

with the limited material so far available to the historian; the editors of the *Dictionary of National Biography* deemed him worthy of a place in that work, and R. V. Taylor has the usual accumulation of facts in his *Biographia Leodiensis*. Yet one fact of importance has hitherto been obscure; the date of his birth. All accounts of him, and they are curiously alike, rely on one primary source, an article, with portrait, in the *European Magazine* for September, 1788, which is careful to say that Berkenhout was born at Leeds "about" 1730. Subsequent annalists are more confident; from the *Gentleman's Magazine**⁷ for 1791 down to Taylor in 1865, they roundly assert that he was born in 1731, or at least that he died on April 3, 1791, in his sixty-first or sixty-second year. That he should be only twenty years old when he lost the appointment he had set his heart upon, making him a mere minor at the time, is not impossible, nor yet that he should have written, and had published, the verses recording his bitterness; but these events would become more probable if it could be shown that he was some years older in 1751. It is, in fact, almost certain that he was that "John Birkenholt" who was born at Leeds on July 8, 1726, and baptised at the Parish Church there on July 28*⁸. Other children of the same surname baptised at the same church were Catalina (September 1727), Frederick (November 1728) and James (March 1734): it was Mathias Jacob who was born in November 1730. This would make John twenty-four at the time the poems were published, for an advertisement appeared in the *Leeds Mercury* in March 1751,*⁹ and in the same month they were reviewed in the *Monthly Review* and mentioned in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

The early part of his career is glossed over by his biographers, and in spite of the new information supplied by the Leeds Public Library's copy of the poems, very little is known about it still. R. V. Taylor gives a useful summary of the facts in general, but is innocent of dates until 1765. After attending Leeds Grammar School, Berkenhout had spent most of his early adult years abroad, according to the usual accounts, as student, tourist and soldier, but the *Monthly Review* for March 1751 gave more than

*⁷ LXI (1791), i, 388. c.f. *Leeds Intelligencer*, April 12, 1791.

*⁸ Thoresby Society, XX (1914), *The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds from 1722 to 1757*, ed. G. D. Lumb.

*⁹ Thoresby Society, XXVIII, 97.

a hint that he was then at Leeds. Hitherto, however, there has been no hint of one reason, that given by Adamson, why he shook the dust of the town off his feet. Having returned to England about 1760, he went to Edinburgh, whence, apparently, he derived the "benefits of a university education" referred to in our manuscript, but rather later in life than the normal undergraduate, it would seem. He then went on to Leyden, where there was a university famous for its accommodating cosmopolitanism, and on May 13, 1765, "Johannes Berkenhout, Leeds-*Anglus*" graduated along with W. Bullock and J. Haygarth, to be followed next month by the well-known north-country doctor Thomas Percival.*¹⁰ Berkenhout was but the successor of more famous men who had combined poetic with medical practice in that century, Akenside, for example, a fellow-graduate, or Goldsmith, whose failure to collect a degree at Leyden is part of the history of English literature. On his return to England, Berkenhout is said to have settled in the south, and it is therefore assumed that he had no further connexion with Leeds; yet when a William Charles Berkenhout matriculated at Worcester College, Oxford, in 1790*¹¹ the name of his father was given as Dr. John Berkenhout "of Leeds." The Berkenhouts are an elusive race. Was this volume of 1765, then, a parting gift to Leeds, a final fling at it? And was John Berkenhout reminded of the town by the death "in child-birth" of Mrs. Berkenhout,*¹² wife of "Mr. Berkenhout, Proprietor of the Ribbon manufactory at Harwood" in April of 1765?

It had been known from the first, at least to those who had access to the *Monthly Review* for March 1751*¹³, that the *Three Original Poems* referred to Leeds and that the author lived there, for that journal had given the following critique :

"The contents of this pamphlet are all satirical, and chiefly relative to one and the same subject, which is a personal grievance affecting the ingenious author, who constantly and feelingly complains much of treachery and ingratitude. But he

*¹⁰ E. Peacock, *Index to English speaking students who have graduated at Leyden University* (Index Society, vol. 13, 1883).

The *Volume of Letters from Dr. Berkenhout to his Son at the University*, published at Cambridge in 1790, is for "my dear Charles." It contains one or two local references.

*¹¹ Foster's *Alumni*.

*¹² *Leeds Intelligencer*, April 9, 1765. Thoresby Soc., XXXIII, 179.

*¹³ Vol. IV, 2nd edition, 377.

has chosen to clothe his meaning, and disguise his subject so much in allegory and fable, that he will only be locally understood; *viz.* in *Yorkshire*, where we are assured he now lives, notwithstanding what he says to the contrary in his title-page. To us, indeed, and probably to most of his readers, in other parts of the kingdom, remote from *Leeds*, a key is necessary to unlock to us the hidden beauties of the satire, which, like the wit of ænigmas, can neither be seen or understood, till the solution appears."

The Gentleman's Magazine had no space to waste on them.

What remains unexplained is the reason why he made use of such a quaint pseudonym, and, indeed, what that pseudonym actually means, if anything. There are Welsh references in the *Three Original Poems* which may help to explain the "Pendavid" part of it. Christopher Smart was making use of a not dissimilar pseudonym at that very time, "Ebenezer Pentweazle," as will be noted presently. "Bitterzwigg" looks like an Anglicized version of a factitious concoction unknown to the usual German dictionaries (Berkenhout was early familiar with that tongue) but it is more apt than the mystifying "Pendavid," for it bears some relation to the character posed by Berkenhout, a "bitter twig."

At first sight, the imprint on the earlier volume of poems has a suspicious look as if it were part of the general mystification: Oxford and St. Paul's Church-yard are not usually associated, even on title-pages. It will be observed that the Leeds newspaper advertisement quotes London instead of Oxford, and possibly that advertisement came from Berkenhout himself; in addition, it gives the name of the Leeds bookseller, who is not mentioned elsewhere. Although the student of eighteenth century bibliography soon learns that title-pages are not always what they seem, it is certain that T. Carnan, the publisher, was real enough: he shines in the history of English book-selling by light reflected from John Newbery^{*14} with whom he was associated by both marriage and professional ties. Berkenhout's little volume is of some slight interest as being, possibly, the earliest separate book on which Carnan's name appears as publisher^{*15}; this tract is

*14 C. Welsh, *A Bookseller of the last century . . .* (1885), is the biography of Newbery, about whom, and Carnan, information is also to be found in the next reference below.

*15 H. R. Plomer (and others), *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers . . . in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* (1932), p. 113.

printed "for" Carnan, whereas previous volumes had been printed "by" him. But at this very time there was appearing a periodical work called *The Mid-Wife*, edited by the poet Christopher Smart, which is the earliest work so far recorded as having been published by Carnan, who was brother-in-law to Smart. Both Smart's and Berkenhout's volumes appeared in the same year, if the 'Old Style' of calculating is adopted. It was to this periodical that Smart contributed many articles under the pseudonym Ebenezer Pentweazle, which he again used for his *Horatian Canons of Friendship* issued in 1750.*¹⁶ All these singular points of contact between Smart and Berkenhout appear to be nothing more than coincidences.

What connexion there was with Oxford is not apparent, for Carnan's usual address was 65, St. Paul's Church-yard. The publisher of the second set of poems (1765) is given clearly on the title-page as W. Stevens of Paternoster Row; he may be the same as that "R." Stevens of the same address who is known to have been at work from 1761, but whose identity H. R. Plomer was not sure of.*¹⁷

The *Pastoral Poem* calls for little comment as literature; it cannot be ranked high for literary matter or manner. Indeed, apart from a possible pride in authorship, or a reluctance to jettison even the mediocre products of his brain once they were brought forth, there is little obvious reason why he should have had it printed. It has every appearance of having been one of his juvenilia in continuation of the *Three Original Poems*, to which it clearly forms a supplement, and whose publication had been deferred in 1751. Why should he resurrect it in 1765, when Wilson had already been dead four years? Was it perhaps that he thought he had not said enough in 1751, pointed though the criticism of Wilson had been in the tract of that date? Or had he felt that in 1751 Wilson would undoubtedly exercise that talent for litigation he speaks of, had he, Berkenhout, dared to print the additional poem? For in this *Pastoral Poem* Wilson becomes a villain more deep-dyed than in the previous volume; we have passed beyond the immediate cause of Berkenhout's resentment to a more general abuse; Wilson is now a grasping

*¹⁶ G. J. Gray, "A Bibliography of the writings of Christopher Smart . . ." *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, VI (1903), 269-303.

*¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, 237.

tyrant whose imperfections do not solely reside in sharp practice and simple dereliction of duty. Altogether there would have been ample justification for an action for libel. Yet, in 1765, if Wilson was dead, "squinting ARPO" was still alive, and so was "sneaking" Blayds. But again, if Berkenhout's aim was to warn others about Wilson and his ways—and it is clearly one of his aims—it came too late to be effective.

The interest of the poem for us is personal and antiquarian : there are not so many literary works about Leeds by Leeds men, that we can afford to neglect this early, if not very exciting, specimen of local belles-lettres. It belongs to an age, for example, which is rich in this minor vein of satire*¹⁸ Incidentally it serves to reveal the kind of education a man of the middle class would give his son at the time : a well educated youth could delight in making classical allusions, not out of vanity or ostentation, but because the classics could still be assumed to be familiar to every cultured man. Yet there is also evidence of keen interest in English verse : Pope, Milton*¹⁹ and (*facile tertius*) *Hudibras*, are mentioned by name. Even so, these literary touches would not, alone, justify a reprint here. The personal interest of the poem now principally resides in its bitter references to civic leaders who, we can only hope, were not typical of their race and their age in Leeds. Its purely antiquarian interest is more attractive, for it provides rather pleasant references to the innocent occupations of those middle-class folk among whom Berkenhout may be presumed to have passed his time, especially to the healthy sports they indulged in, running, wrestling, football, quoits, or archery ; or to their more sedate forms of amusement (when permitted) like theatricals and dancing ; but also to the not so innocent pastimes, as they seemed to Berkenhout, of gambling and billiards, practised by a different and a less agreeable class. Berkenhout's observations on some of these sports and pastimes may be compared with the protest of one ANTIGALLICUS in the *Intelligencer* of 20 March 1759*²⁰ against cock-fighting ; whilst a

*¹⁸ See, e.g. W. J. Courthope, *A History of English Poetry*, vol. V.

*¹⁹ The mention of Milton in the poems of 1751 doubtless has reference to an unidentified, and maybe unpublished, contribution to the controversy inaugurated by William Lauder in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1747 which gained some notoriety at the time. See Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, II, 137.

*²⁰ Thoresby Soc., XXVIII, 111.

"laudable attention to the Public Good" had secured the town from the danger of 'raree shows, puppet plays, and theatrical entertainments,' yet these were, after all, innocent and rational amusements in comparison.

F. B.

A/Pastoral Poem./BY/Pendavid Bitterzwigg,/Jun. Esq;/[Rule]/"Beneath his Reign, see *Science* groans in Chains,"/And *Wit* dreads Exile, Penalties and Pains"/DUNCIAD./[Rule]/[Double rule]/LONDON :/Printed for W. STEVENS, in Pater-noster-Row./1765. [Price Three-pence.]

[Page 3] : [Emblem]

To DONALD.

AH! where's my DONALD? thrice I've been
To seek thee on the sportive Green,
Where oft, I know, thou kick'st the Ball,
Or whirls a Coit, or try's a fall:
By Star light twice travers'd the Plain,
To find the long absented Swain;
I rov'd, but e'er half o'er I got,
Darkling I spy'd thy dreary Cot;
It's smoak in Rolls was wont to rise
A lightsome pillar to the Skies;
Thy Turf and Bavin wont to raise
A Flame so bright, the Glass wou'd blaze,

A 2

Now

[Page 4] :

Now not a Taper, form'd a Star
To guide the nighted Traveller:
Dead silence reign'd, no whisper heard,
Nor any thing with Life appear'd,
Till JOCKEY'S Eyes two Gems display'd,
And show'd me where thy JOCKEY laid;
I call'd "Poor JOCKEY"—but the Cur,
Tho' known my voice, refus'd to stir;
He seem'd to growl, "My Master's gone,
"His voice I'll know, and His alone."

Say DONALD, whence this sudden Woe;
To make thy manly Spirits bow?
Two Moons have barely reach'd their waine,
Since thou enliven'd all the Plain,
Thy Flute, in every Morning's Gale,
Blow'd melody along the Dale;
At eve, thy Fife was heard so shrill,
It eccho'd strong from every Hill.

Though Winter shook his iron Rod,
And stalked majestic, as a God,

[sic]

Pre-

[Page 5] :

Preceded by the biting Wind
 Menacing nature's Hands to bind
 In icy Chains : tho' every Bough,
 Obedient to the whistling Blow
 Let fall its Honors on the Ground,
 Till tawny foliage form'd a Mound,
 Or danc'd before the driving blast,
 Till swaiths, in various' order cast
 A mimic Harvest cover'd o'er
 The Furrows, where, not long before,
 The golden Sheaves adorn'd the soil,
 And paid the Peasant for his toil ;
 Thou laugh'd at Winter, sung thy song,
 Or pip'd, the village Hinds among ;
 Thou, constant at the hardy Chace,
 Wer't ever foremost in the Race :
 The Mountain's lofty top hast trod,
 Where currents swell'd, has dar'd the Flood
 New dangers, new Occasions gave,
 To prove the Heart of DONALD brave ;
 At every Game, at every play,
 My DONALD bore the palm away.

What

[Page 6] :

What sudden Change ! my DONALD'S gone,
 And where, or why, the cause unknown,
 His Cot with pleasure, rings no more,
 His Cattle dying at his Door,
 His shrill-ton'd Fife and mellow Flute
 Are heard no more ; the Vale is mute !
 His Flocks, neglected fall a prey
 To Dogs and Foxes every Day.
 Since DONALD comes not to the green,
 No Maiden there, no Swain is seen !
 Thy LAURA droops her pensive Head,
 And sadly sighs, "My DONALD's fled!"
 Adieu the Grove, adieu the Mead,
 He's gone ! 'tis Winter now indeed !

Oh DONALD ! think on LAURA's tears ;
 Think, what thy tender LAURA bears !
 What Cause unknown, cou'd make thee part,
 And break thy faithful LAURA's Heart ?
 What Cause unknown, cou'd make thee leave
 Thy Friend, thy COLLIN ? prithee give
 Me notice where thou'rt gone and why,
 Or COLLIN must, with LAURA die.

To

[Page 7] :

To COLLIN.

DEAR COLLIN make thy LAURA know,
I live—for LAURA and for you.
But various Passions tear my Breast
So violent, I know no rest,
Nor Night, nor Day; where'er I go,
My Vengeance hungers for my Foe—
Does COLLIN beg the baneful Cause?
“Oppression, through inverted Laws.”—

Thou, well remember'st DONALD's Sire,
How quick, his manly Heart wou'd fire,
If Av'rice, or Ambition, made
The least Approaches, to invade
His, or the Rights of any Swain,
That pastur'd on *LEDINA's plain.
Shou'd his immortal Eye survey
The Tyrant *RYCO's cruel Sway,

* A noted Town in the North.

With

[Page 8] :

With Indignation he wou'd glow,
And wish himself once more below,
A sturdy Shepherd, to engage
And prove the Tyrant's utmost Rage.
And shall his Son, his DONALD share
Nought of the Father, but to heir
His Flocks and patrimonial Field?
Forbid it Heaven! sooner yield
My Flocks, my Field, my Cot and all,
Than with Servility to fall
Beneath myself, and take my cue,
In placence to the Tyrant's view;
Like squinting *ARPO, and the Clan
That flatter this enormous Man.
No, RYCO, know, my Soul disdains
To wear they arbitrary Chains:
A Shepherd born, I will be free,
In spite of Pride, in spite of *Thee*;
Or leave my pasture, and my Cot,
'Till thy stupendous Carcase rot.

Oh COLLIN! cou'd I meet the Man,
Who dares invert the worthy plan

De-

*1 “The Recorder of the Town” (ms. note), i.e. R. Wilson.

*2 ‘Samuel Harper, Alderman,’ (ms. note). He was Mayor of Leeds in 1762-3, and died on February 13, 1775.

[Page 9] :

Design'd to bridle Vice, and bind
 The wanton Sallies of the Mind,
 From tainting th'innocence of Youth,
 By painting Falshood, fair as Truth ;
 Oh ! cou'd I meet him when alone,
 Without his Guards ! his inmost Bone,
 Tho' tuns of fat shou'd keep it warm,
 Shou'd feel my fist and nervous Arm.
 Tyrannic Pride ! shalt thou dictate,
 What every one must like or hate ?
 Must each industrious toilsome Son,
 In fair Ledina, pant and run,
 By Night and Day, through hot or cold,
 To save his Flocks and guard his Fold ;
 Yet, when he well contrives to gain
 A short Recess from Care and Pain,
 Forbid by *Thee*, not dare to meet
 His fellow Swains, and fill a Seat
 Within the new-encircl'd Green,
 Where rural Pastimes glad the Scene,
 Or Shepherds (left their Crooks at Home)
 Reign mimic *Kings ; like *Heroes* roam,
 The Paths of Honor ; Dangers brave ;
 Or Patriotic, spurn the Slave

* Alluding to Theatrical Representations.

Who

[Page 10] :

Who sells his Freedom ; nobly bold
 Bid us to be, *what we behold**³
 Where, Shepherdesses take the Part
 To captivate each feeling heart,
 By showing Virtue, tho' distress'd,
 Will brighten more, as more oppress'd ;
 That Nature in the lofty *Queen*,
 And humble *Maid* alike is seen,
 Tho', varied each in Circumstance,
 A striking Lesson both advance
 To warn the Fair, or, bid them rise
 To Actions worthy of the Skies.
 Where Knaves, and Sycophants may see,
 Their Hearts unmask'd ; and (curs'd like *Thee*)
 And sneaking *⁴*Bl - do*) feel the Wound
 Within their conscious Ribs rebound,

Where

*³ "See Pope's Prologue to *Cato*," (ms. note).

*⁴ "John Bl-des, Esqr." (ms. note).

Blayds was Mayor of Leeds in 1774-5.

* Dramatic pieces, by setting before our eyes the errors into which our passions lead us, give us a more sensible idea of their symptoms and nature, than we can possibly receive by any other Means; a faithful Image of the Passions is sufficient to strike us with Horror, and to induce us to determine resolutely to avoid them. The spectacle contrived by the Lacedemonians, to inspire their Youth with an Aversion to drunkenness, produced its Effects. The Horror with which the Extravagance and the Brutality of Slaves exposed drunk upon the Stage, struck the Spectators; raised a firm Resolution in them to resist the Allurement of this Vice. The Antients (says Racine) look'd upon the Theatre as an Academy, where Virtue was taught with as much Purity, as in the Schools of Philosophers.

[Page 11] :

Where Lust and Avarice, Pride and State
Detected, meet their certain Fate.

Will RYCO assume, with specious Air,
To've acted through this dark Affair,
Like hood-wink'd Justice with her Scale,
Where Things are balanc'd, and prevail,
As Truth and Merit give them Weight,
Or, wanted, kick the Beam a height,
Without an Eye to Friend or Foe,
Or Lust of Power? let me know,
(If RYCO, or his Friends can tell)
Why he admits the Sports of *Hell,
Within the Circle of his Sway,
To lure the Minds of Youth away?
Youth ever active will declare,
For Scenes of Pleasure; Age must Care
With Wisdom, so to point its View,
That Innocence it may pursue,
Least the deceitful Sands of Sin,
Like SCYLLA's Whirlpool, suck it in.

This, grave LEDINA long foresaw,
And taught, without the Aids of Law, Till

* Puppetshows, Conjurers, &c.

[Page 12] :

Till her example Sons became
Proverbial for their sober Fame.
Yet then, indulged their harmless Plays,
The Summer's Eve's and Holidays.
With Ardor then they drew the *Bow,
Strain'd in the Race or chang'd a Blow

* The Park Butts were lately destroyed, where the Inhabitants exercised themselves with shooting with the long-Bow. One of England's Glories, and almost appropriated to our Nation; by it, we gained the Battle of Cressy, Poictiers, Agincourt in France, and of Navarre in Spain, &c.

With measure'd HAZ'ELLO, sprung a Leap
 Like bounding *Harts*, or down a Steep
 Of sounding Waters rush'd along,
 Then turn'd and stemm'd the Current strong.
 Or Foot to Foot, and Arm with Arm
 Fast lock'd, with manly Contest warm,
 In nervous Struggles prov'd their Strength,
 Till vanquish'd one extends his Length
 Along the Turf—Or if they mix
 In Pastime with the softer Sex,
 Wind through the Ring, or pair'd, advance
 In rows, and move, in graceful Dance,
 Or, singly to the tuneful Reed,
 Or chearful Pipe, a Hornpipe tread;
 Till wearied, down they sit serene,
 And tell strange Stories on the Green.*⁵

[Page 13] :

Lost, happy Days! LEDINA mourns
 The direful Change! The Tyrant spurns
 Her grave Remonstrance: all his Lore
 Bent to secure his boundless Power,
 He saps the Sinews of the Mind,
 Till (Honour, Courage, sink) he find
 No Opposition dares appear,
 To curb his insolent Career.
 Or why, connive at *Scenes of Vice,
 And pois'rous Pastimes, which entice
 Her swains to hazard at a Throw
 A Sheep,*⁶ a Bullock, or a Cow?
 Nay, even squander in a Day,
 Their slow gain'd Heritage away.

Know'st thou not this? and dost thou wield
 The Rod of Justice o'er her Field,
 Guardian of Laws? what must succeed,
 But Falshood, Idleness, and Need,
 With all its lean rapacious Train,
 Unknown, till thy inglorious reign?

Say COLLIN, does there not remain
 One noble Shepherd on the Plain,

* Billiard Tables and other Kinds of Gaming practised with Impunity.

*⁵ There are no catch-words on pages 12-14 (Ed.)

*⁶ "Butchers used to frequent them, and many of them to their Ruin," (ms. note).

[Page 14] :

Who dares t'oppose tyrannic Power,
 Before it's ravening Jaws devour
 What's left of Freedom? art thou broke
 So passive to the falling Yoke,
 Thou dares not show thyself, to stem
 It's rapid overwhelming Stream?
 Arise my COLLIN, rouse thy Mind,
 Shake every *Hamlet*, every *Hind*,
 With Sounds of Danger—make *them* see
 The Happiness of living free.
 Yea, stamp it on their inmost Soul,
 That without *Liberty*, the whole
 Of Nature's Bounties are not worth
 A mean Existence on the Earth;
 But nobler far, like Men to die,
 And seek their Freedom in the Sky.

In vain you'll sooth, and try to melt,
 That iron Heart, which never felt
 A tender Passion. Have not you,
 Supreme *⁷IRVINA, deign'd to sue,
 And beg the Tyrant wou'd forbear
 His Purpose, to oblige the Fair?
 Yet, see the insolence of Pride,
 The Monster glories, he deny'd

[Page 15] :

The Fair IRVINA.—
 Henceforth, let every Damsel know,
 'Tis base Indignity to bow,
 Or curtsie, baser to approach
 Th' unmanly Brute, or even touch
 His Finger, shou'd occasion bring
 The Tyrant to the Dance or Ring.
 Think, when invited to convene
 And hear his Music on the Green,

*⁷ "Lady Irwin" (ms. note). This was Ann, daughter of Charles Scarborough, who had married Henry Ingram, 7th Viscount Irwin about the time he succeeded to the title. She died in 1766. Her portrait is to be seen in the Great Hall at Templenewsam. For brief notes on the family and the estate at Templenewsam at this period, including a reference to Wilson in 1745, see S. D. Kitson and E. D. Pawson, *Temple Newsam*, 5th ed., (1931), p. 25. A full pedigree will be found in G.E.C., *The Complete Peerage*, VIII (1929), p. 74, under "Irvine." The Ingolds were peers of Scottish title, hence the style "Irvine" in works of reference like G.E.C.; but Miss Foster informs me that, in the family papers at the Leeds Public Library no other form than that of "Irwin" is used. What particular dispute Berkenhout is referring to, is not known. The seventh Viscount died in the same month as Wilson.

Two Winters gone, when you'd advan'd
His Piper's Hire, and wou'd have danc'd
A cheerful Hour; that RYCO rose,
And rais'd his Menials to oppose
Your harmless Mirth, and made you know,
"His *Circus* was not form'd for you."

Inflated, by his past Success,
He'll know no limits, but suppress
Your very Senses; soon your Food
Without his Licence won't be good.
No Shepherd touch the Nuptial Bed,
'Till RYCO seize the M-d-n h-d

Of

[Page 16] :

Of every Bride, unless redeem'd
By Gifts, as every Swain's esteem'd
T' abound in Wealth—Ev'n now, ye dare
Not tune a *Catch*, or hum an *Air*,
Where RYCO's nam'd without Respect,
Least, in Revenge of such Neglect,
He and his fellow Harpies, claw
Your very entrails out in Law;
Forcing a *Libel* from your *Eyes*
And *Thinkings*, when they can't surprize
Your Pens and Tongues.—But I will sing,
In RYCO's Spite, till Echo ring
The galling Notes thro' Hill and Vale,
'Till Hill to Valley tell the Tale,
And Valley sound it to the Plain,
'Till all the Song comes Home again.

FINIS.

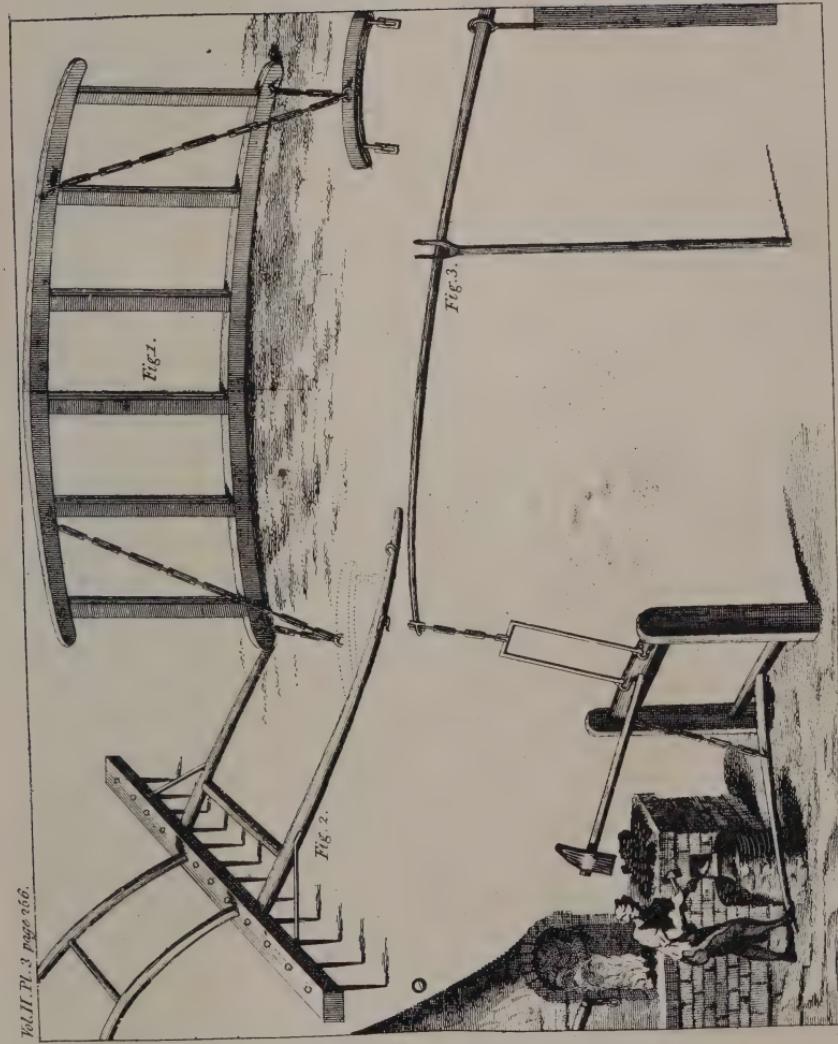
Early Iron Workings at Creskelde, near Otley.

By W. B. CRUMP M.A.

Creskelde, a few miles below Otley, is an estate on the valley side, running down from Bramhope to the River Wharfe; it is close to the railway tunnel, where it emerges into Wharfedale to cross the river by the Arthington viaduct. The head of the estate has evidently been quarried or worked for stone or iron ore until it has become precipitous near Bramhope Old Church. There used to be a number of streams flowing into this hollow before they were cut by the tunnel, but the one nearest the house emerges and flows past it to reach the Wharfe. The name Creskelde uses the Norse "kelde" for a spring and water course. The Deed to be quoted shows that six centuries ago it was the site of primitive iron working. The nodular ore was extracted from the open face of the rock and the water-course served to wash it.

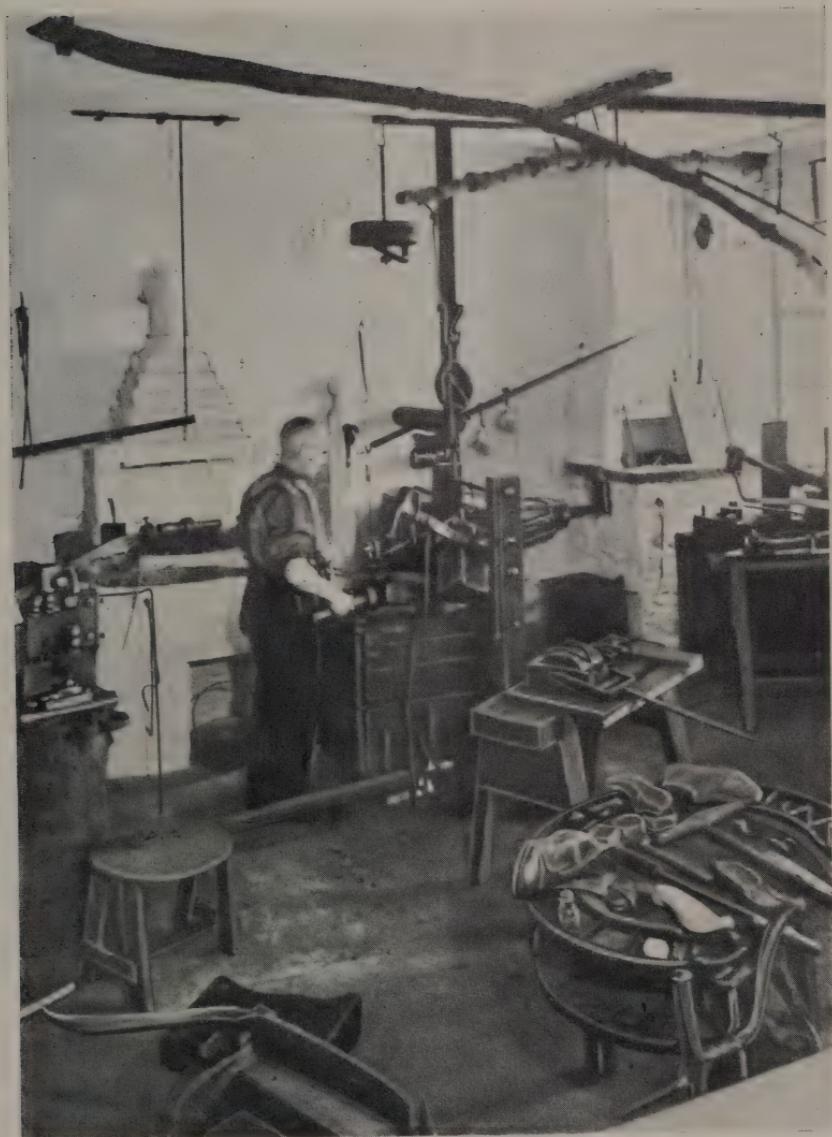
In 1942 Mr. J. B. Place called my attention to a deed in Norman-French, printed as a footnote in *Industrial Biography*, by Samuel Smiles. His comment was, "A discovery has recently been made among the papers of the Wentworth family, of a contract for supplying wood and ore for iron "blomes" at Kirskill near Otley, in the fourteenth century."

The Norman-French text contains an unusual word "olyvers," which I knew I had seen once in *Yorkshire Deeds*: search soon showed that it was in one of the Wentworth deeds from Woolley Hall, abstracted in Vol. III. These had been copied (or, in this case, translated) by the veteran President of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Mr. J. W. Walker (now retired), and his material used by the Editor of the Society. Mr. Walker failed to translate one difficult passage and the Editor failed to make sense of the document in his very short abstract, but he gave "olyver" the meaning of "tilt-hammer" and not "forge." This was probably on the authority of the *Oxford English Dictionary (O.E.D.)* although this contains no quotation of its use before 1686.



From [Arthur Young,] *A Six Months' Tour through the North of England*, 1770, vol. II.

Plate X



AN "OLIVER" AT KEIGHLEY MUSEUM.
Reproduced by kind permission of the curator, J. Ogden, Esq.

Although it was not possible to see the original deed during the war, the text given by Smiles seemed to me to be accurate, and I proceeded to consult Mr. Walker, Professor Barbier, and lastly Mr. L. F. Salzman, Editor of the *Victoria County History*, an authority on early ironworking and other industries.¹

There was some diversity of opinion on at least one point but it was possible, with the aid of Miss A. G. Foster, to produce a translation, reasonably satisfactory, without seeing the original deed. There the matter rested until the original could be examined.

After Commander Wentworth returned home he decided to divide the contents of his muniments room between the libraries of the University of Leeds and the Yorkshire Archaeological Society. The deeds came to the latter, and in 1946 Miss Foster read the Creskelde deed and found that there was only one trifling error in the version given by Smiles. So there was really nothing to amend in the translation agreed upon. Professor J. le Patourel was consulted on various points and he gave me his advice on the titles given to the two parties.

The terms of the indenture or contract were, briefly, that Sir Richard de Goldesburgh, knight, leased to Robert Totte "seignour," two olivers 'containing' 24 blooms, standing in his park at Creskelde, as long as they lasted, for a payment of 14 silver shillings a week; he also granted Robert the timber in his park to provide the charcoal, and he undertook to find enough ore for the "olivers."

The name "Ricardus de Goldesburgh, Chivaler" (i.e. chivalier) appears again in the Poll Tax returns of 1379 at the head of the list for the township of Goldesburgh; he payed xx.s. which was the sum due from those of the rank of chivalier. Robert Totte has not been traced further but his title seignour denoted much the same rank.

TEXT OF THE DEED²

Ceste endenture fait entre monsire Richard de Goldeburgh chivaler, dune part, et Robert Totte, seignour, d'autre part, tesmoigne qe le dit monsire Richard ad grante et lesse al dit Robert deuz Olyveres 'contenaunz' vynt quatre blomes de la feste seynt Pierre ad vincula lan du regne le Roi Edward tierce apres

le conqueste vynt sysme, en sun parke de Creskelde; rendant al dit monsire Richard chesqune semayn quatorzse soutz dargent duraunt les deux Olyvers avaunt dist; a tenir et avoir al avaunt dit Robert del avaunt dit monsire Richard de la feste seyt Pierre avaunt dist, taunque le bois soit ars du dit parke a la voluntee le dit monsire Richard saunz interrupcione (e le dicte monsieur Richard trovera a dit Robert urre suffisaunt pur les ditz Olyvers pur le son donaunt: these words are interlined.) Et fait a savoir qu le dit Robert ne nule de soens coupara ne abateva nule manere darbre ne de boys pur les deux olyvers avaunt ditz mes par la veu et la lyvere le dit monsire Richard, ou par ascun autre par le dit monsire Richard assigne. En tesmoigaunz de queux choses a cestes presentes endentures les parties enterchaungablement ount mys lour seals. Escript a Creskelde le meskerdy en le semayn de Pasque lan avaunt diste.

TRANSLATION OF THE DEED

This indenture made between Richard de Goldesburghe, chivalier, (knight), of the one part and Robert Totte, seignour, of the other part WITNESSETH that the said Mr. Richard has granted and leased to the said Robert two olyvers 'containing' 24 blooms from the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula 26 Ed. III in his park of Creskelde RENDERING to the said Mr. Richard each week 14 silver shillings while the two olyvers last TO HOLD AND TO HAVE to the aforesaid Robert from the aforesaid Mr. Richard from the feast of St. Peter aforesaid until the wood of the said park be burnt, at the will of the said Mr. Richard without interruption and the said Mr. Richard shall find the said Robert enough ore for the said olyvers in return for payment. AND be it known that the said Robert nor any of his [men] shall not cut nor fell any manner of tree or wood for the two olyvers aforesaid except at the view and livery of the said Mr. Richard or any other person he may assign

IN WITNESS whereof to these present indentures the parties interchangeably have set their seals

Written at Creskelde Wednesday in Easter week in the year aforesaid [1352. 11 April.]

MEDIEVAL IRON SMELTING

The medieval method of obtaining iron was to heat the ore in a furnace called a bloomerie, packed with charcoal, generally built on a hillside so as to obtain a good current of air through openings in the walls. The whole mass of ore and charcoal was enclosed within a core of clay, open at the top, so that the material was fed in regularly. Later a better blast of air was obtained by bellows worked by men standing on the bellows and lifting themselves up by a bar fixed overhead and so on. There would be a number of bellows piercing the clay walls and directed on to the hearth just above a large hollow perhaps cut out of a stone. This was the hottest place in the furnace and the semi-molten mass collected in the hollow from which it was lifted out as it accumulated by a bar or possibly a pair of tongs. The hot lump was called a loop, at any rate in Sussex. John Ray, F.R.S., writing three centuries later described the process of lifting out the loop with shingling tongs, then "they beat it with iron sledges upon an iron plate near the fire." This expelled the more liquid slag which flew off in all directions and left a mass of impure malleable iron called a bloom.

But the word "bloom" had a more extended meaning, for the next step was to weld together a number of these primary blooms into a larger mass in the shape of a long bar. This involved reheating a primary bloom and shaping it into a bar, adding to it a second one and so on until the desired weight and length of the bar was obtained. This was also called a bloom. Ray, in 1691, wrote "They bring it to a bloom, which is a four square mass of about two foot long."³

Three such blooms were found in the Roman Villa at Chedworth, Glos. and are now in the museum there. They had undoubtedly been made in a smithy or bloomerie attached to the Villa before the year A.D. 375. One of them is perfect and consists of a bar five feet long, weighing 484 lbs. It is square in section, eight inches by six, tapering at each end.⁴ Mr. Salzman suggests that the size and shape of the bloom varies from district to district and he thinks that 2 cwts. or so may be regarded as an average weight.⁵

The power was applied by a tilt hammer, called in the Deed, an "oliver" and there are two of them included in the bargain.

The *O.E.D.* defines an oliver as a tilt hammer but makes no suggestion of the derivation of the word. Mr. Salzman gives an ingenious and very likely one. He writes :

"I had, independently of the *O.E.D.*, come to the conclusion that they were tilt hammers and had conjecturally associated them with the Paladin Oliver famed for his shrewd blows."

This suggested derivation of the name from one of the two paladins of Charlemagne, Roland and Oliver, who were famous for the mighty blows they could give in combat (as in the saying "to give a Roland for an Oliver") is undoubtedly the right one. It is simply one more example of the native wit of a workman in any age who finds a happy nickname for his machine or his process. The introduction of machinery in the eighteenth century produced a crop of them, and a recent example is the name "Operation Noah's Ark" given by the Army to their rescue work in the floods of 1947.

Mr. Salzman continues, "The name might be and clearly was, used to include the building in which it was housed—just as did "hammer" sometimes and "forge" usually.

Strangely enough the word "olyver" occurs again in the accounts of the smythes, as ironworks were then called, at Farnley, to the South of Leeds, in the sixteenth century. For example, entries in the accounts in May, 1582 read—

"Farnley Smythe. Paid to the smethe men for scouring and trimming the "Olyver" and mending the great dame" 14s. 4d.

Item for theakine⁶ the olyver 10s. 8d.

Evidently these operations show that the olyver was enclosed in a building, and the name might be applied to them both in conjunction, as Mr. Salzman suggests.

Finally he deals with the difficult phrase in the Deed "two olivers containing twenty four blooms." Writing in 1943 he expressed the view that it probably meant just what it said, viz. : "that the iron of the two hammers contained 24 standard blooms of 2 cwt. apiece (?) which would make each about a ton in weight."

Sound as Mr. Salzman's interpretation of the text is, there is good reason for doubting the accuracy of the text in its use of the word "contenaunz" (containing). Another deed⁷ relating to iron working in County Durham in 1375 seen recently is quite similar

in form to the Creskelde Deed, though briefer. In this the phrase in question runs "un olyver de x blomes en la symaigne" (an oliver of ten blooms a week) for which olyver John de Loge was to pay every week for forty weeks in the year, thirty horseshoes.

This Deed and Smiles' version of the Creskelde Deed were discussed the following year by Rhys Jenkins.⁸ He considered that the number of blooms was used to express the output of the forge per week and that this was the sense in which it was used in the earlier (the Creskelde) document, where the meaning was that two olivers produced 24 blooms a week. Jenkins implied that the use of the word "contenaunz" was an error, but Professor B. Woledge of University College, London, holds the opinion that "contenaunz" at that period had a wider meaning and could refer to the production, or output, of the oliver rather than to the weight of the oliver itself. The time taken to produce the 24 blooms is not stated in the deed because it is implied in the weekly payments and it was the practice of the trade to make a weekly reckoning.

The practice of reckoning the output of a forge by the number of blooms or fractional parts seems indisputable. It has already been illustrated in the quotation from the Accounts of the Farnley Ironworks.

The deed refers only to the felling of trees but this was only a preliminary to the conversion of the timber into charcoal which was done on the spot by colliers or charcoal burners.

The ore was evidently within the bounds of Creskelde as the owner, Richard, was to supply it as well as the other trees. A little further down Wharfedale, on the other side, there was iron working in the neighbourhood of Kirkby Overblow at this time, and even earlier, to such an extent that the village derived its distinctive name from the ore-blowers there.

At the time of Domesday the village was simply known as Kirkby—a village with a church. Before the end of the thirteenth century it had become Kirkeby Or blawere or Kyrkeby Orblauers. Late in the sixteenth century it took the form of Kyrkebye-overblowes. Within this period *v* and *u* were interchangeable forms of the same letter (just as *s* and *f* were both in use to the end of the last century). Gradually *v* came to be used as an initial consonant while *u* remained a vowel and was chiefly used within the word. In the spelling of ore *u* or *v* was inserted from the

fifteenth century so ore might be written after that time either oure or ovre and so to over. Actually in the Creskelde Deed it is written 'vrre' though it would be spoken as if it were written 'urre.' This is the reason why the modern name of the village retains an older spelling "over" of ore. The fact that ore blowers are always mentioned in the plural suggests that it required a considerable number of them to blow the bellows.

From this evidence it is natural to suspect that the iron ore was extracted from the same outcrop as at Creskelde, extending down the valley. Dr. H. C. Versey, of Leeds University, confirms this and has given me the following note on the geology of the area—

"The area is formed of rocks of the Millstone Grit series, the horizons represented being the shales and grits below the Kinderscout Grit. These include the Follifoot Grits and the Cayton Gill Beds which are known elsewhere to be associated with thin beds of clay-ironstone and with lines of nodules of ironstone. It was these rocks which provided the raw material for the old bloomeries of Kirkby Overblow and they must also have supplied these referred to in the Creskelde deed."

LATER USE OF THE OLIVER

Although the *O.E.D.* does not quote an example of the use of the word Oliver until 1686 the word was in use much earlier, as witness the Deed under consideration here, dated 1352, and others of similar date, vouched for by Mr. Salzman. The Durham Deed, quoted by Louis, is dated 1375. The next date, 1582, comes in the accounts of Farnley smythies (still unpublished). A century later Plot describes and figures it under the name of a "sledge" in his *Natural History of Staffordshire*. The first description of an oliver quoted in the *O.E.D.* from Plot's *Oxfordshire* of the same year is as follows :—

"A large sledg.. set in an axis of wood from whence goes a rodd of iron fastened to a pallet that reaches out a little beyond the anvil which being drawn again by the foot of the smith . . . is returned again by three springs of holly that clasp the axis the contrary way."

These are the earliest references to the use of the foot in working the oliver.

A century later Arthur Young⁹ gives a drawing of a smithy in which the heavy hammer, pivotted on an upright bar, is fixed to the free end of a long horizontal branch of wood. As before he brings the hammer head down on to the molten iron in the forge by means of his foot, and when he lifts his foot the spring of the wood raises the hammer head ready for the next stroke.

The *O.E.D.* gives five more examples of olivers in use in the nineteenth century in the making of large nails and the like.

The oliver, generally called a foot oliver, is still in use in the West Riding in a few places. Mr. H. W. Harwood, of Halifax, is my informant about its use in the works of James Harwood and Sons, of Crown Works, Hebden Bridge, where two or three olivers were used for squaring the head of shuttle pegs of spindles, until they were displaced by electric power not long ago. More interesting is the smithy of Thomas Green at Silsden, near Keighley. This contains amongst many other hammers two olivers used for shaping the clog irons which used to produce the familiar sound to be heard when the mills "loosed" in all the smaller towns.¹⁰

Green's smithy was discovered years before I saw it by Mr. James Walton who described it under the title "The Cobbydale Nail Makers."¹¹ He is more concerned with the nail makers, but when he turns to the use of the foot olivers he points out that more heat and therefore larger bellows were required, for the making of the clog irons. The process takes place about table level and as only a touch of the foot is required, the blows of the hammer fall swiftly on the iron just withdrawn from the furnace.

Both at Silsden and at Hebden Bridge, the return of the hammer after each blow is obtained by the same primitive device of attaching them to a large branch or small tree of ash about 6 to 8 inches in diameter and about 10 or 12 feet long. This is fixed to the beams of the building with a free end linked by rods to the hammer, so that the elasticity of the wood brings the oliver back again to its normal position rapidly and almost imperceptibly. This method at once raises the question whether the foot oliver is descended from the time of the bloomery and is akin to the olivers used at Creskelde in the fourteenth century.

The device has evidently come down the centuries and there is no evidence for any other method of working the tilt-hammer or oliver. It has been replaced by water power for working

larger masses of iron, and is now only in use in the production of smaller articles such as clog irons, large nails, etc., which are rather too large to be manipulated by a hand hammer.

¹ See his popular volume on *English Industry in the Middle Ages*.

² Formerly in the archives of Commander Wentworth at Woolley Hall, Yks.; now in the possession of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society at Leeds.

³ John Ray. *A Collection of South and East Country Words 1691*; (*English Dialect Society. Reprinted Glossaries*, xv-xvii, p14).

⁴ These particulars have been kindly supplied by Mr. Norman Irvine, the Hon. Curator of the Museum at Chedworth, Glos.

⁵ The *Farnley (Leeds) Accounts* two centuries later (see below) give the fortnightly production of iron in blooms and pieces or dozens and pieces, for example:—

11th Oct. 1567. In primis iron made at this Reckoning 10 blooms and 4 pieces.

25th Oct. 1567. In primis iron made at this Reckoning 19 dozen and 3 pieces for the which received £7:16:0.

Feb. 1568. In primis iron made at this Reckoning 7 blomes for the which received £5:12:0.

Feb. 1568. In primis iron made at this Reckoning 13 dozen and 2 pieces received for the said iron £5:5:4.

It appears from these entries that one bloom is equivalent to two dozen.

⁶ thatching.

⁷ Henry Louis, "Ancient Lease of a Forge," *Journal of Iron & Steel Institute*, Vol. 121, 1930, p495.

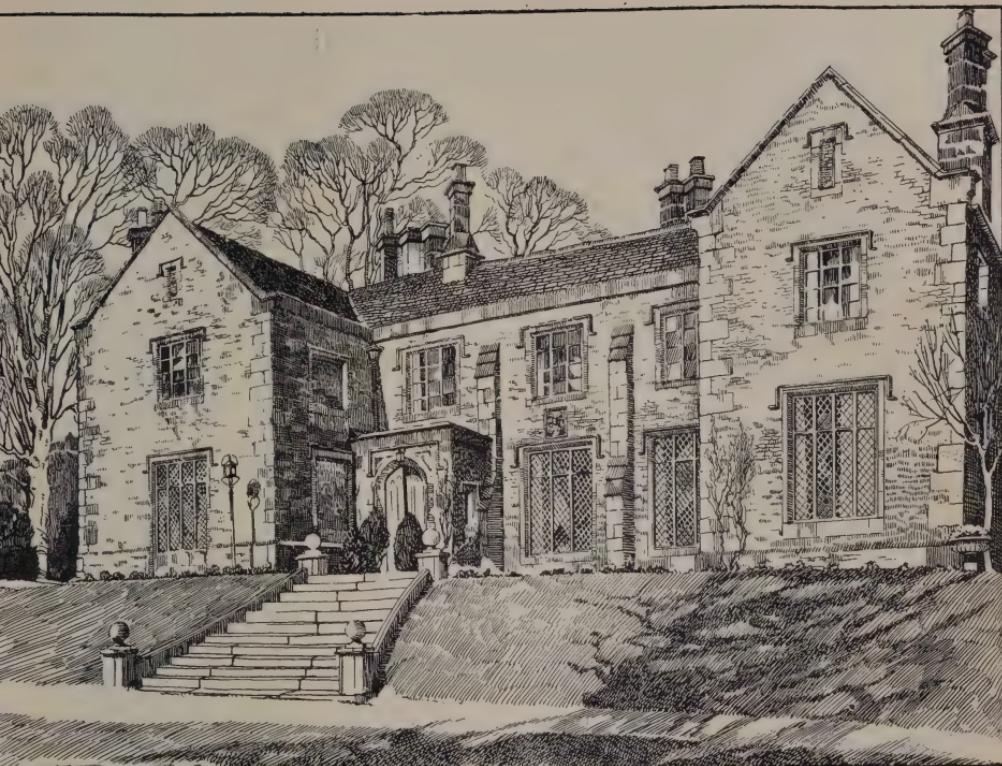
⁸ Rhys Jenkins, "The Oliver—Iron Making in the Fourteenth Century," *Newcomen Society Trans.*, Vol. 12, 1931 32, p.9. See plate IX.

⁹ *Six Months' Tour through the North of England*, 1770, II. 256.

¹⁰ Chiefly through the enthusiasm of Mr. Green a complete replica of his smithy is set up in Keighley Museum. See plate X.

For a reference to its use in Leeds in the nineteenth century, see E. K. Clark's presidential address, "Humanity under the Hammer," *Inst. Mech. Engineers, Proc.*, CXXI (1931), 107-142.

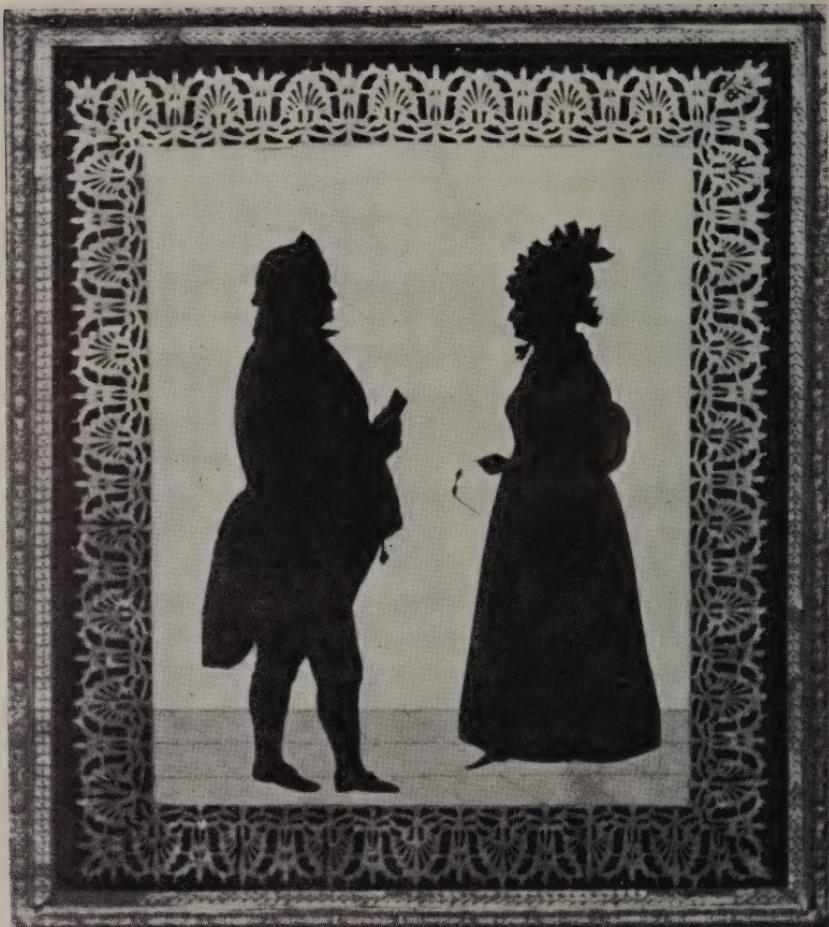
¹¹ *The Yorkshire Dalesman*, Vol. II, No. 6, p11, Sept. 1940.



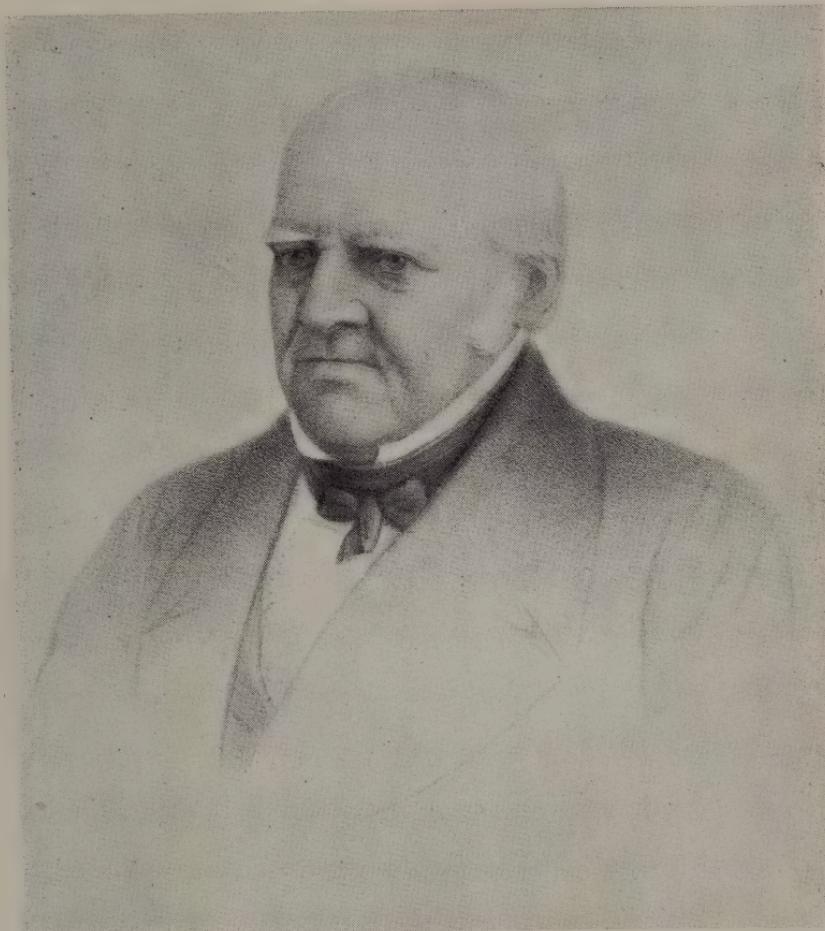
STUMPERLOWE HALL

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and The Sheffield Telegraph.
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Plate XII.



MR. & MRS. JOSEPH INGHAM OF HUNSLET LANE



HENRY HALL (V) 1773-1859.

(*From a print "Published by J. Buckton, 50 Briggate, Leeds,
from a photograph by J. Baume".*)

Thoresby Society

Plate XIV.



ROBERT HALL, M.P.

From "Illustrated London News," 27 June 1857.

Leeds Public Libraries.

Some notes on the Hall family of Stumperlow and Leeds

By SUSAN BROOKE, M.A.

corrected

INTRODUCTION

Before the municipal reforms of the nineteenth century, Leeds like most English towns was governed by a comparatively small group of influential families. The Halls who were typical members of this urban oligarchy played a conspicuous part in civic affairs throughout the eighteenth and earlier half of the nineteenth centuries. For five generations their names were associated with the political, commercial, and ecclesiastical interests of the town. Three members of the family were mayors of Leeds, and one was returned as parliamentary member for the borough. Then with the death of Henry Hall in 1859 the name gradually fades from the records.

If the social background of the early industrial era is to be represented in more detail, it is essential that some attention should be paid to the lives of merchant families like the Halls. Unfortunately the documentary material is comparatively scarce. Most business men had scant respect for the records of their fore-fathers, and there was a tendency to destroy not only commercial correspondence, but also private letters and diaries which might have thrown much light on the past. When such material survives it is generally heterogeneous in quality, and its preservation is more often due to some accident or whim, than to any recognition of historical value. On the other hand any papers which became incorporated in the muniment chest of a country house had a good chance of survival even if they dealt with long forgotten financial affairs.

In this connection it is significant that a large bundle of documents concerning the Hall family in the seventeenth century, was kept among the Spencer-Stanhope records at Cannon Hall for 250 years: this varied collection of letters, lawsuits, wills, and hastily scrawled notes, had been carefully preserved long after the Halls themselves had consigned their records to oblivion. Various female descendants of the Halls also

kept manuscripts in their country houses which would have had a far shorter life if they had remained in Kirkgate or Hunslet Lane: these papers include such items as a receipt book of 1756, an eighteenth century account book, several pedigrees, a political handbill, and a few Victorian letters. By the time these fragments reached the hands of their present owners most of their original meanings had been forgotten. For instance the receipt book was thought to have been compiled by a cook in some West Riding household, no one being aware that "Elizabeth Broadbent" was the maiden name of Mrs. Henry Hall, wife of an eighteenth century mayor of Leeds. Documents which lose part of their history in this manner can still be interesting, but they are more valuable when seen in their true context, where as clues to family customs they can give us glimpses of a way of life that would otherwise vanish into obscurity.

The first stages in putting together the history of the Halls was to reconstruct their genealogical background. Here the foundation had already been laid by Hunter¹, and although his pedigree of the family is somewhat inadequate, it provides a general introduction to the seventeenth century connections and associations. The later part of the pedigree was taken from various scraps of information among the family papers. During the period covered by pedigree I, that is from 1610 to 1716, the Halls owned land at Stumperlow near Sheffield, and their interests were centred in that district. The second part of the pedigree covers the period 1716 to 1859, during which time the Halls lived in Leeds, where marriage and business gradually linked them with a wide circle of local acquaintances.

Wherever possible, trade or professional details have been added to the later pedigree. One advantage of this method is that it enables the historian to visualise the economic development of a family within the wider framework of Yorkshire's industrial evolution. During the eighteenth century it was customary for merchant families to be united in social groups, and to render each other reciprocal assistance when the occasion arose. Perhaps the most familiar example of this phenomenon was the well-known Quaker circle to which such families as the Gurneys and Barclays

¹ Hunter: *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, Vol. II p. 568.

Hunter's spelling of Stumperlow (without an 'e') has been retained, since this was in normal use up to thirty years ago.

belonged. It is not sufficiently recognised that the same principle was at work throughout the country, and was one of the factors that decided which men would survive the grinding competition of the Industrial Revolution; for to be a member of a prosperous and benevolent group of families was an insurance against commercial isolation and even bankruptcy.

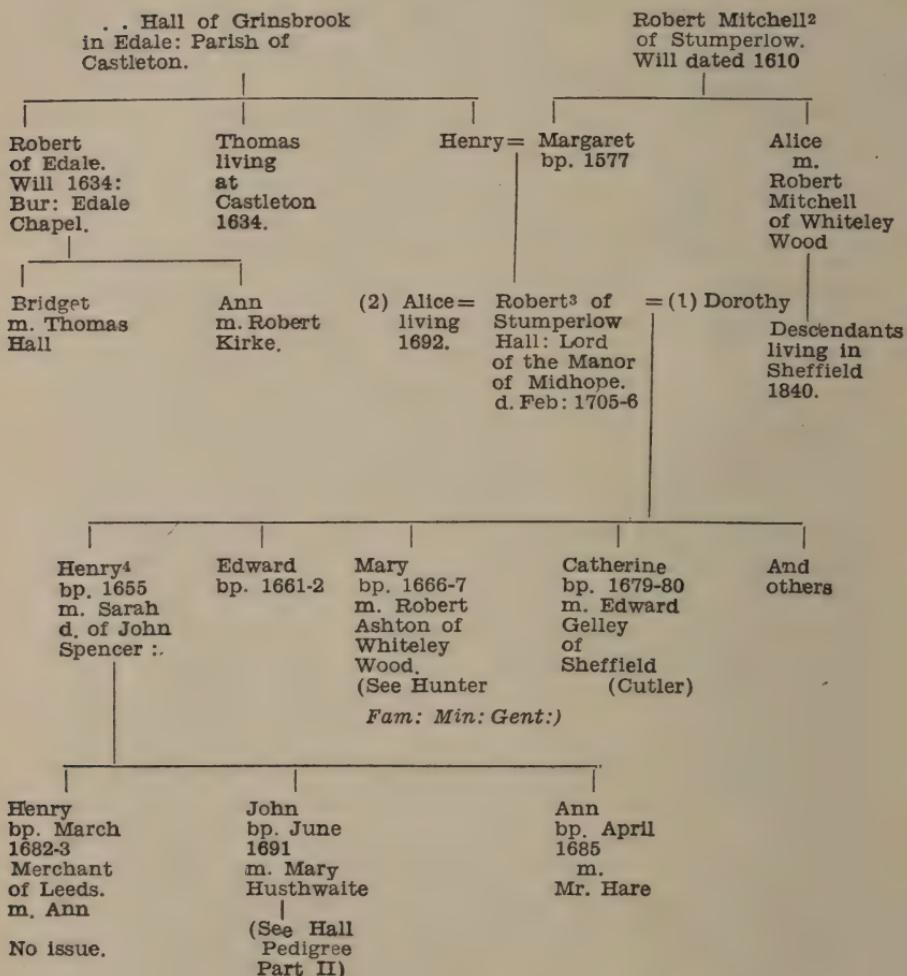
The Hall pedigree is not an adequate guide to the whole network of relationships within the group, but has to be taken in conjunction with other sources of information, such as the lists of visitors at domestic festivities. If these records are studied it can be seen that the people with whom the Halls allied themselves constituted an influential cross-section of the merchant class in Leeds. The ties which bound the members of the group together were of various kinds, but in addition to the more obvious bonds, the people concerned were united by some far-reaching influence which stamped upon them an indefinable resemblance to one another in ways of thought and behaviour.

Some of the people whose names are mentioned in this inquiry have had recorded obituaries. Others who would have considered themselves unworthy of any note, were in reality the prime movers and inspirers behind the social facade. Unrecorded housewives entertained friends, introduced strangers, arranged marriages and settled feuds. And later, it was mainly due to certain women who valued old memories that any tradition of the group's existence was preserved.

Although the Halls were regarded as belonging to Leeds, their links with South Yorkshire were never entirely broken or forgotten, and family associations ranged over a wide district, stretching as far as the Derbyshire border. Urban activities took place against a background of journeys on horseback or by coach, while friends and relatives from other parts of Yorkshire were constantly arriving with news and gossip, so that the events of remote villages in the Pennines might be reported in the mayor's parlour shortly after their occurrence. Letters of the time give an impression of frequent travels to and from Leeds, partly on business and partly on pleasure. This interchange between town and country which was such an important feature of eighteenth century life, has been somewhat obscured by nineteenth century biographers who often wrote as if the townsman was entirely cut off from his roots. In reality the vital nexus that gave signifi-

PEDIGREE OF HALL

Part I: Showing descent of the Stumperlow property.



² *Sheffield Manorial Records*: Vol: I p. 113.

³ Robert Hall, grandson of Robert Mitchell is mentioned in the latter's will (1610). If this was the same Robert who lived till 1705, he must have reached an unusually advanced age. Hunter suggests that there may be a generation missing, *op: cit.*, Vol. II. p. 568).

⁴ In the Sheffield Registers there is a Henry Hall Gent: who died in 1691. This may have been Henry of Stumperlow.

cance to the lives of many town "worthies" was the secret web of acquaintanceship and family tradition, binding together past and present, far and near, into one whole. The emphasis on past associations was extremely common in provincial societies, and helped to produce the rather old-fashioned outlook of many English townsfolk. Sometimes a tradition went back several hundred years; for instance among the Hall papers there is a letter from a Sheffield antiquary called Samuel Mitchell, who wrote to remind Henry Hall in 1840 that they were both descendants of the family that had lived at Stumperlow in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and to ask for news of other branches of the family.

The more one studies a particular epoch, the more one sees its connections with the past, and the impossibility of disentangling the events of one century from those of another. In the present inquiry it is necessary to make a short incursion into the seventeenth century before considering the more detailed evidence of the later period.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND

The Halls were descended from a yeoman family established at Edale and Castleton in the Peak district since early medieval times. Their names occur in the lists of crown rents for the Peak forest, where certain members of the family were employed as officials on the royal lands, for instance "Robert Halle forester of Eydale".⁵ There was also an old tradition that some of the Halls occupied various hereditary positions at the Peak Castle, including those of bailiff and custodian.⁶ The surname is an extremely common one in the Castleton area, and the genealogist's task is further complicated by the fact that it was customary among all branches of the family to call the eldest son Robert or Henry.

Sometime towards the end of the Elizabethan period, Henry Hall of Edale married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Robert Mitchell⁷ of Stumperlow near Sheffield. On the death of her father in 1610 this lady who was the eldest of two daughters⁸ was

⁵ *Hunter Archaeological Society*: Vol. 1, p. 337-351.

⁶ *ibid.* Vol. III p. 43.

⁷ Robert Mitchell was one of the first governors of Sheffield Grammar School, and a man of local influence.

⁸ The other sister, Alice married her cousin Robert Mitchell of Whitely Wood. She was an executor of her father's will.

left the small estate which had been in the Mitchell family since the fourteenth century, together with all the "harnesse . . . waines, plowes, yokes, teames . . . harrows and husbandry geare".⁹ In *Harrison's Survey* (1637) Henry Hall is mentioned in a list of "ffreehold and Copyhold Rents within ye Soake of Sheffield", as paying 6s. 10½d. for Stumperlow; but it is probable that the Halls were then only partly resident in this district, as they still had connections with Edale.

In the middle of the seventeenth century Robert, the son of Henry Hall I, built the hall at Stumperlow and began to acquire other property in Yorkshire. The most important of his purchases was the manor of Midhope which had originally formed part of the extensive Barnby estates in the district round Cawthorne. This property was obtained soon after 1670 and the effect on the Hall family was to draw them into a new neighbourhood, where their fortunes became linked up in various ways with the Spencers of Cannon Hall.

The manor of Midhope was leased to John Spencer the iron-master in 1680, and at about the same time Robert's son Henry was married to Spencer's daughter. Among the Cannon Hall papers there are bonds signed by Robert and Henry Hall made out in favour of John Spencer, one of which, dated 16th April 1680, is for £1,500 and another for £750. From this period dates a gradual deterioration in the fortunes of the Halls, which continued for many years to come. Henry Hall appears to have borrowed extensively and drifted into various financial and legal difficulties. In 1686 he was involved in an expensive law suit, and in 1688 was borrowing money from a Mr. William Taylor. His marriage with Spencer's daughter was by no means an unmixed advantage, for the family situation at Cannon Hall was extremely complicated and unhappy at this particular period.

John Spencer had secured the Cannon Hall estate through his marriage with Margaret Hartley, widow of Robert Hartley and daughter of John Clayton, the Recorder of Leeds. Sarah, who later became Mrs. Henry Hall, was the only surviving child of this union, but both her parents had children by their former

⁹ Will of Robert Mitchell 1610. York Probate Registry.

marriages.¹⁰ The preamble of Spencer's will (1680) contains some indication of the financial complexities resulting from these circumstances. Apparently Sarah's mother had insisted that her daughter had a right to some share in the Cannon Hall inheritance, while Spencer wished to make sure that his children by his first wife should enjoy the property which he had gained through his second marriage.

The preamble starts with the following statement:—
 “Whereas by Margarett my now wife I have onely one daughter living lately married to Henry Hall gent: to whom I gave seaven hundred and fiftie pounds for her marriage porcon att my wives entreaty and upon her promise and agreement that after my Death shee would acquitt and release to my Heire and Executor hereafter named, all her interest dower and right of in and to all my lands tenements goods chattels and cattells both reall and personell¹¹ . . .”

It was well for Mrs. Hall that the remaining part of her inheritance was to be a yearly rent of £5, paid “att the feasts of Pentecost and St. Martin the Busshop”, for the extravagance of her husband soon absorbed most of the available capital. According to Hunter, Henry Hall II was a typical hard-drinking squire of the Restoration epoch. His career provides an interesting example of the way in which the fate of a family may be altered by the character of one individual, for it was due to his dissolute habits that his children were reduced to poverty and compelled to change the manner of their existence. The two companions of his debauches were Fox of Fullwood and Bright of Whirlow, the latter being a brilliant horseman whose exploits became a legend in the neighbourhood. The three men used to meet at a small public house in Fullwood called Water Carr Hall, and hold drunken revels while their estates were going to decay.¹²

Hunter's account of this period in the family history was based on information obtained from the Wilson papers at Broomhead. It is possible that the details of the story may have

¹⁰ Hunters pedigree of the Spencers in his *History of South Yorkshire* is incorrect in several details, and he was evidently unable to secure information about the Hall marriage, as he has placed it in a wrong position on the pedigree. Whitaker's edition of Thoresby's *Ducatus* (1816) also gives wrong information about the Spencer pedigree (p. 254).

¹¹ Will of John Spencer, quoted from A. M. W. Stirling's *Annals of a Yorkshire House*, p. 338.

¹² Hunter: *Hallamshire*, p. 207.

been exaggerated since the Wilsons were not disinterested witnesses, being closely related to the Spencers. But in any case it is certain that Henry Hall II had financial troubles of a serious nature, and it seems quite probable that these may have led to excessive drinking and early death. The fact that he had enemies is evident from the Cannon Hall papers : for instance, a letter from a man named Jo. Greensmith dated October 13th 1688, accuses him of continually falsifying his word, "as if ye had consulted Lucifer and his privy Counsell." This missive continues : "I was out of towne when your letter came and would not have given my selfe ye trouble of either respondinge yours or granting your request to meet you at Bookings tomorrow morning only out of compassion to your good wife whose condison I pitty and your childdrens."¹³ . . . "

It is curious that a letter of this character should have been preserved, and still more peculiar that it should be among the Spencer papers together with other correspondence of a more friendly nature addressed to Henry Hall. One could hardly imagine that Henry's wife would hand over his private letters to her step-brother John Spencer, yet by some such means the correspondence must have been transported from Stumperlow to Cannon Hall.

Henry Hall II died in 1691, and although his father lived on till 1705 the family was unable to retrieve its former position. Midhope was sold to Godfrey Bosvile for £2256 in 1690,¹⁴ and in 1716 the widow and children of Squire Hall surrendered in the manor court of Sheffield "that capital messuage called Stumperlow Hall" to David Gascoigne of Sheffield, apothecary, and John Hawkesworth of Bridgehouse, lead merchant.¹⁵ This transfer of property marked the end of the Halls connection with Sheffield, for Henry Hall III had already established himself as a merchant in Leeds, and the rest of the family soon followed him there.

The removal of the Halls from Sheffield to Leeds was symptomatic of a general social change in south Yorkshire that led to the disappearance of many local families. Commenting

¹³ Spencer-Stanhope papers: Bundle 106.

¹⁴ Hunter: *South Yorkshire*: Vol. II. p. 196.

¹⁵ Hunter: *Hallamshire*: p. 222.

on this phenomenon a Sheffield historian writes: "The glories of Attercliffe under the Spencers had departed and Carbrook was deserted by the Brights who had made it famous. The light of the elder branch of the Brights of Whirlow had flickered out miserably in an ale house where Fox of Fullwood and Hall of Stumperlow had joined with Henry Bright in ruining their once fine estates with low dissipation."¹⁶

Historians of south Yorkshire tend to paint a picture of unrelieved decadence when they mention the early eighteenth century; but there was another aspect of the subject which sometimes escaped their attention. The families whose disappearance they lament, often made good in other environments where economic factors were more favourable, and those who moved to more vigorous neighbourhoods probably escaped the fate of stagnation which overcame some of their more conservative neighbours.

In the case of the Halls, the choice of Leeds may have been decided by the fact that Mrs. Henry Hall (née Spencer) had previous connections with the town. Her mother's family the Claytons¹⁷ had lived there for several years during the reign of Charles I and in the Commonwealth period. They had been respected members of the Puritan faction in Leeds, and had friends among the townsfolk. It is possible that this old association with the town helped the Halls to establish themselves in their new surroundings. It would explain the apparent ease with which members of the family obtained civic offices soon after their arrival, and it would also account for their intense interest in the municipal history and traditions of Leeds. But whatever prompted the choice of this particular locality, it is obvious that the town gave new life and vitality to a family which might otherwise have become one more of the many casualties among the old squirearchy in south Yorkshire.

¹⁶ R. E. Leader: *Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 9.

¹⁷ For description of John Clayton, see *Old Leeds*, by "An Old Leeds Cropper," p. 150. Clayton was a Puritan lawyer of very pronounced views. His friends in Leeds included John Thoresby father of the antiquary. He wrote several pamphlets including, *Topicks of the Law Reports and Pleas of Assizes at Yorke*.

PEDIGREE OF CLAYTON¹⁸ SHOWING CONNECTION WITH
SPENCERS OF CANNON HALL AND HALLS OF
STUMPERLOW

Anguis d. of John Thornhill of Fixby	=Thomas Clayton of Clayton Hall ¹⁹ : High Hoyland: d. about 1585.		
Margaret d. of Jasper Cholmley (East Riding)	=William Clayton of Oakenshaw. (Second son) Barrister: Inner Temple. d. about 1627		
(1) Elizabeth d. of Gerard ²⁰ Fitzwilliam of Bentley.	=John Clayton = (2) Mrs. Ecclestone, widow (eldest son) Inner Temple. Recorder of Leeds 1626. Of Oakenshaw in 1649. d. 1671 aged 79.		
John d. 1666 aged 46. No issue.	James m. Prudence Burdett. (See Burke's Landed Gentry)	(1) Robert Hartley of Cannon Hall. ²¹ d. 1656.	=Margaret = (2) John Spencer of Cannon Hall: d. 1681 aged 52 (He married first Sarah Naylor and had issue) m. Mrs. Hartley in 1658.
		Margaret Hartley m. Joseph Watkinson of Wakefield	
		(1) John Norton = Sarah = (2) Henry Hall of Kettlethorpe	of Stumperlow bp. 1655.
			(For issue see Hall pedigree)

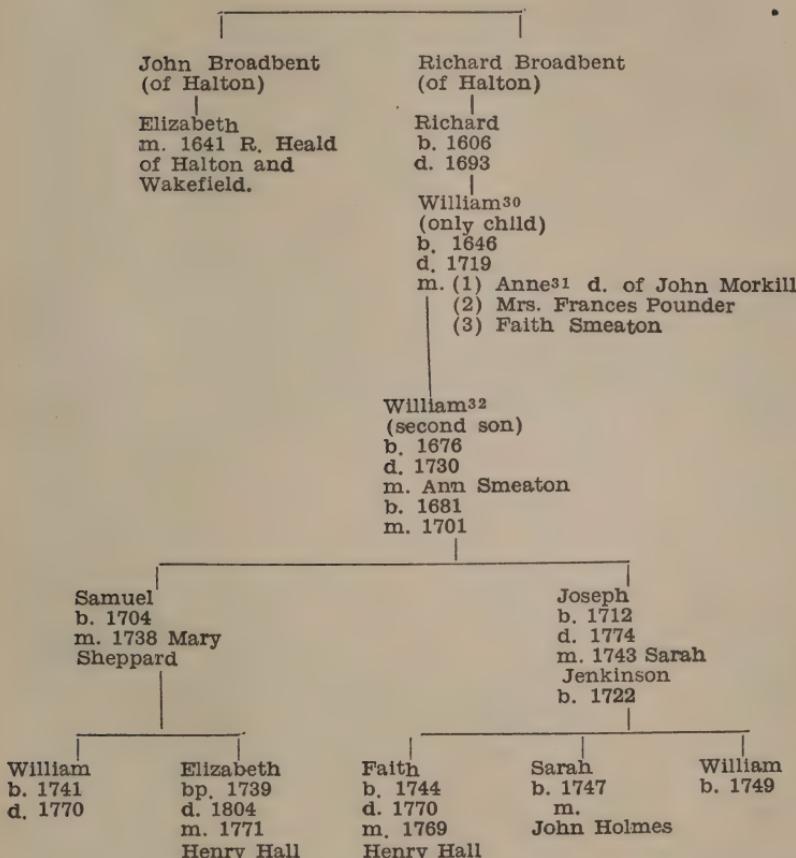
¹⁸ There is a detailed Clayton pedigree in *Hopkinson's Yorkshire pedigrees* (M.S. in British Museum) and a less detailed one in Burke's *Landed Gentry* (1925 ed.). The pedigree in *Dugdale's Visitation* p.260 is incorrect in various details, and that in Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis* rather inadequate.

¹⁹ Clayton Hall is said to have been sold by a Mr. Thomas Clayton to the Cookes of Wheatley. (Hunter: *South Yorkshire*: Vol. II, p. 366).

²⁰ Burke gives "Gerard", but Hopkinson gives "Gervase Fitzwilliam".

²¹ Robert Hartley bought Cannon Hall for £2910 in 1650.

THE BROADBENTS OF HALTON



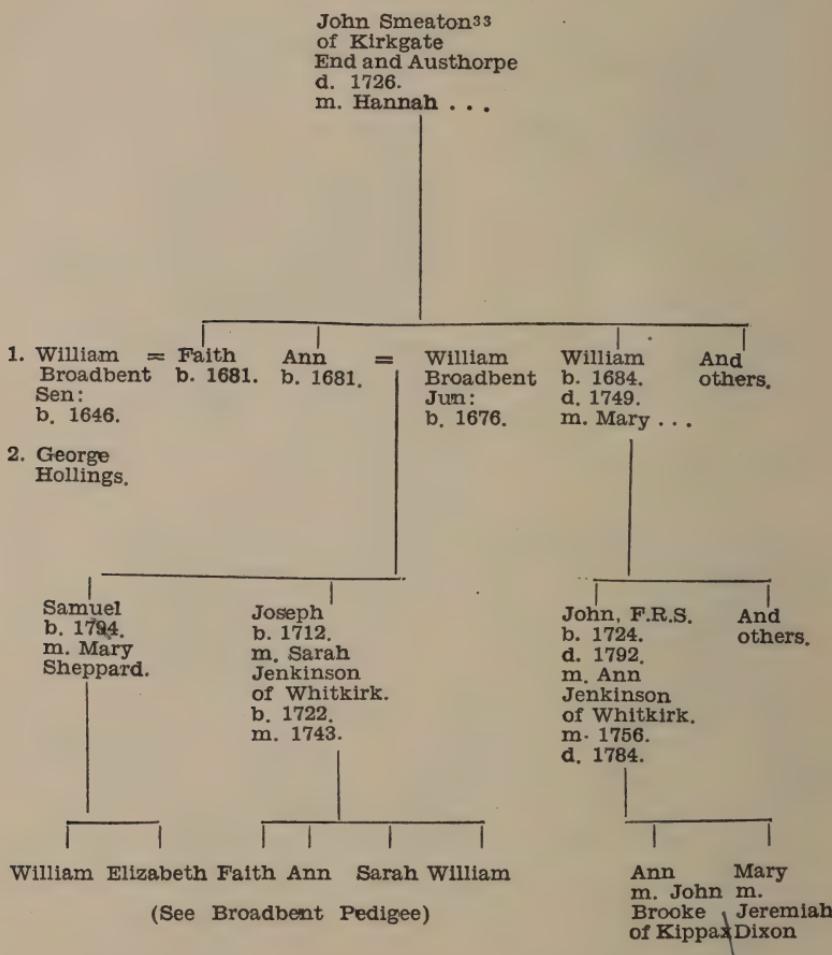
NOTES ON BROADBENT PEDIGREE:

³⁰ William Broadbent Sen: b. 1646, is described in the Hall notes as "steward" of the colliery at Aushorpe"; he was also steward to "Mr. Iveson who worked the colliery". The Iveson's pedigree is in Thoresby's *Ducatus*.

³¹ Anne is stated to be "daughter of John Morkill, Lord Irwin's park keeper. The Morkills were at Temple Newsam for several generations. John Morkill of Temple Newsam Lodge died Nov: 1681. (See Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1925 ed.).

³² William Broadbent b. 1676 was "overlooker and steward for Mr. Iveson's colliery at Black Bank".

PEDIGREE TO SHOW CONNECTIONS BETWEEN
THE SMEATON AND BROADBENT FAMILIES



³³ For full Smeaton Pedigree see *Thoresby Soc: Miscellany*, Vol. II p. 52.

THE CLAPHAMS OF NEWTON KYME AND LEEDS:
FRIENDS AND PARTNERS OF THE HALLS

The Rev. Thomas Clapham³⁴ M.A. (Cantab.):
Rector of Newton Kyme:
b. 1662; d. 1724.

Henry b. 1696.	Thomas b. 1699 (of Giggles- wick).	Charles b. 1701. m. 1726 ³⁵ Hannah Stephenson	Barwick b. 1702. m. 1726. Mary Greenwood.	And others.
Charles of Seacroft. Stuff Merchant of Leeds. <i>d. 1804.</i> m. Rebecca <i>d. 1804.</i> Middleton of Warwick.	William, Stuff Maker and Merchant of Leeds. ³⁶ m. Ann Hall.	Hannah m. 1765 Robert Walker, ³⁷ of Honley (second wife).	Elizabeth b. 1738. d. 1814. m. Thomas Leigh, of Honley.	
Thomas: Stuff Merchant of Leeds. b. 1760. d. 1833. m. H. Vincent. (Had issue).				Four daughters: (See Hall Pedigree II).

³⁴ Thomas Clapham was grandson of another Thomas Clapham (1594-1666) also Rector of Newton Kyme, who is described in a contemporary document (16 Jan: 1654) as a "grave diligent orthodox and godly preacher of the Gospel of Jesus Christ" (*Yorks: Arch. Journal*: Vol. VIII p. 166). Thomas Clapham I was chaplain to the first Lord Fairfax, and is mentioned in his will. This branch of the Clapham family appears to have been dependent on the patronage of the Fairfax family for several generations. The Low Church Whig viewpoint characteristic of some of their descendants in the nineteenth century was probably derived from the Puritan background at Newton Kyme.

³⁵ This marriage took place at Armley chapel. (Registers published by Thoresby Society).

³⁶ The Leeds headquarters of this branch of the Clapham family was in Call Lane.

³⁷ Robert Walker, wool-stapler of Honley, married both Miss Hannah Clapham (second wife) and her sister-in-law Mrs. William Clapham (third wife).

A LEEDS HOUSEHOLD IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Few records have been found relating to the first generation of Halls to settle in Leeds, but from references in local histories it appears that they became engrossed in business and municipal affairs soon after their arrival. Henry Hall III held various offices,²² including that of Treasurer (1736) and Mayor (1752). Certain members of the family entered the wine business, while others became stuff merchants in partnership with a family called Clapham.²³

It is during the life of Henry Hall IV that we begin to get a clearer glimpse of the household, with details of festivities and friends. This insight into the domestic side of family life we owe to the care with which Mrs. Henry Hall IV kept her account book, for this very industrious housewife noted every item of expenditure, and preserved her entries for future reference. Mrs. Hall's maiden name was Elizabeth Broadbent, and her family had been settled since Tudor times at Halton in the parish of Whitkirk.²⁴ She married Henry Hall IV in 1771, as his second wife, her predecessor who was also her cousin having died the previous year.

About half of the regular visitors who partook of Mr. and Mrs. Hall's hospitality had been neighbours of the Broadbents at Halton; and as a result of this connection the Halls continued to have a particular interest in the Halton-Whitkirk area. For several generations the Broadbents had acted as stewards for various local collieries, and had many associations with the neighbourhood. Their long friendship with the Smeatons, which lasted throughout the eighteenth century and resulted in two marriages, probably began when William Broadbent was steward of Austhorpe colliery in the seventeenth century.

²² James Wardell: *Municipal History of Leeds*, Appendix XXIV.

²³ Family tradition does not record when the firm of Clapham and Hall was established. In the later part of the eighteenth century the chief partners were Charles Clapham of Seacroft, and Henry Hall IV.

²⁴ Mrs. Hall's father Samuel Broadbent left Yorkshire in 1734 to become steward to Sir Basil Dixwell in Kent. In 1740 he entered the Office of Excise where he remained for several years before returning to his native county. While in London the Broadbents resided in Dean St. Fetter Lane. Elizabeth was born in the parish of St. Andrews Holborn, and baptized on the 23rd July 1739. On her father's retirement from the civil service she accompanied him back to Yorkshire, and spent several years looking after his household.

The account book which Mrs. Hall used throughout her entire life-time was a strongly bound customs book formerly owned by her father, and still containing several pages in his elegant handwriting. This volume is bound in vellum, and has the royal arms stamped on the cover.

Mr. Broadbent's accounts are mainly concerned with his salary and clothes. Entries for 1765 include the following items :

				s. d.
Gold hat band	...	...	...	4 0
$\frac{1}{4}$ years hairdressing	...	...	...	12 0
Turning hat 2/- and cocking one 1/-	...	...	...	3 0
For mounting a cane	...	...	...	6 0
A pair of shoe buckles	...	...	...	5 0
Paid for a Tail for the hair	...	...	...	6 0
A pair black stockings	...	...	...	4 0
A pair white Gloves	...	...	...	1 0
Paid for 26 yards of Irish linen for shirts	...	...	3 18	0

Under the year 1766 there are more details of wearing apparel, and it appears from these and other entries that Mr. Samuel Broadbent was forced to spend a considerable proportion of his income on wardrobe accessories and hairdressers.

				£ s. d.
Paid Taylor's Bill for making great coat and cutting out waistcoat	...	...	...	1 0 0
Paid Perry for a pair of paste knee buckles	...	...	1 1	0
Paid for 5 pockett hanks	...	...	...	15 0
Paid for breeches making	...	...	...	10 6
Paid for hat	...	...	...	1 0 0
Lace gold sewing on	...	...	...	6
Paid for a pair white silk stockings	...	...	...	7 6
Paid for 2 pair shoes	...	...	...	9 6
Paid for curls	...	...	...	10 6
Paid for a pair of Gloves	...	...	...	4 9
Paid for a pair of leather breeches	...	...	1 7	0

The entries of Mrs. Henry Hall start in 1765, six years before her marriage, and continue up to the time of her death in 1804. In addition to records of servants' wages, furniture and clothes, there are notes on her children's christenings, and certain other festivities. The following items are typical of the kind of expenditure she incurred when keeping house for her father in 1766 :

		£	s.	d.
Silver punch ladel	...	15	0	
Pye dish	...		10	
Chinese print	...	18	0	
Carpit	...	2	12	6
Set of Chinea	...	2	15	0
Bed stead	...	17	0	
Harth Brush	...		8	
Cat	...	1	0	

Under the year 1739⁶ there are various entries which throw light on some of the domestic occupations of the family :

		£	s.	d.
Binding 6 Vol. England and Wales	...	3	0	
Tea Canesters	...	3	0	
Chest of Draws	...	5	10	0
5 yards Scotch Carpit	...	16	6	
3 flat irons	...	3	11	
Iron candlestick	...		9	
Dozen of plates	...	2	6	
7 wine Glases	...	5	0	
Spiting panns	...	1	4	
Cribige borde	...		6	
Gallon rason wine	...	3	0	
Pair of Specktickels	...		9	

Clothes and the materials for making them were the most expensive items for the period 1773-1795 when the children were growing up. The extracts in Appendix I show the prices of wearing apparel and dress stuffs at this date. In addition to clothes and furniture there were other regular expenses, such as the subscription to Leeds Infirmary (one guinea), the bakehouse dues (3/9 a quarter in 1781), school fees, window tax (12/9 for the half year), land tax 14/-, and water tax 3/6 half yearly. Servants' wages varied from about £4 10s. to six guineas a year, and occasionally a dress was included in the wage.

The following entries are typical of the numerous memoranda about female servants :

"Mary Holdsworth came here the 20th of April 1775. Is to have £4 10s.

February the 16th 1781. Allice Busbey came here. Is to have for wages five guineas a year.

October 17 1786. Sarah Knowles came here. Is to have £3 10s. a year for her wages.

September 7th 1789. Betty Fowler came. Is to have £5 5s. ; and five shillings a year for cleaning shooes.

November the 29th 1790. Sally Midlem is to have for her wages £4 10s. a year, and a new stuff gown."

It is noticeable that there is no change in servants' wages between 1777 and 1804, five pounds being about the average for the whole period. No doubt this was considered a decent wage for women in the eighteenth century. Leeds Infirmary nurses were also getting £5 in 1767 while the matron received £10.

Occasionally the account book is enlivened by notes on particular festivities such as the feast of Bishop Blaize, patron saint of the wool-combers. For such events an alderman like Henry Hall would have been expected to offer the best of cheer. As usual Mrs. Hall delights in recording the details :

"1776. Bishop Blaze. We gave the procesion as far as it went 3 bottle red wine, one of Cyder, a pd. of 6 penny suger maid into a Negus. Mr. Hall gave them 5/- besids a Supper.

Bishop Blaize 1783. Men suped here of an Crop of Beef weighed 16 pound an a half, pottatoes and 3 penneworth of haver cakes sopped in the dripping pann."

A wide range of beverages was consumed in the Hall household; including tea, brandy, raison wine, red wine, beer, and "Harragatt water." Various relatives were in the wine business, and bargains were to be expected. The following extracts refer to purchases or gifts from such accommodating kinsfolk :

	£ s. d.
"January 1781: Mr. Tidswell for wine	... 5 13 6
February 1784: My Aunt made us a present of 2 Gallons Brandy at 15s. a Gallon.	
My Aunt made us a present of 2 Gallons red wine, 7 shillings a Gallon.	
Settled with Sister Wright for wine."	

Raison wine seems to have been an ordinary household drink, and is one of the most frequent items of expenditure. Occasionally it was made at home, and one entry records the purchase of "a Hundred waite of Raisons for wine £1/5/-."

The Hall family provides an interesting example of the high rate of infant mortality in eighteenth century England. Out of the eleven children of Mrs. Hall, whose christenings are recorded, six died as infants and one in early youth. The children were put

out to nurse with various women, some of whose husbands worked in Mr. Hall's business. It seems possible that this custom helped to account for the high death rate among families of this type. Mrs. Hall noted the names of all the nurses and took other particulars about them which she considered relevant. Her list is probably typical of many similar families :

"1772 Daughter still born Wednesday June the 10.

1773 Henry Hall born fryday June the 11, 1773 . . . was sukeld by Phebe Marsden whos husband was Mr. Hall's Dyer ; lived in one of the houses opposite the old church Leeds.

1774 John Hail born Tuesday June the 28, 1774 . . . John was nursed by Betty Battersby in Mr. Rowley's Yard, Kergate. Dyed May the 19, 1793.

1775 Sarah Hall born May the 28, 1775 ; was nursed by the same person her brother was. Dyed November the 30, 1775.

1776 A daughter born Tuesday September the 19 who dyed imediataly affter.

1777 Tuesday November the 4, a son still born.

1779 Ann Hall born Wednesday January the 27, 1779. Went to nurse to Hanah Butler whose Husband was a comer (comber). Lives at Milgarth.

1780 William Hall born Sunday August the 13, 1780. Went to same nurs as his Brother John. Staid 7 weeks and went then to Lydia Spence who lives in Miss Walker's Yard, Timble Bridg.

1781 Samuel. Went to nurse to Hannah Butler who lives at Milgarth. (Died as infant).

1783 April the 5, 1783 Samuel Hall born on a Satterday Morn. Went to nurse to Comfort Wakefield who lives at Beeston. Samuel Hall dyed of the small pox at Beeston, November the 7th, 1784.

⁵
1784 Joseph Hall born Wednesday January the 12, 1785. Went to nurse to Hanah Wood at Quary Hill."

Of these children only Henry, John, Ann, William and Joseph survived their infancy, the second son dying at the age of nineteen. Eighteenth century children were reared in homes where frequent births and deaths were taken for granted. Funerals and christenings were important ceremonies which recurred at very regular intervals. Visitors called on all such occasions and etiquette prescribed definite forms of entertainment which were adhered to with scrupulous accuracy.

Christening festivities included large dinners, to which godparents relatives and friends were invited. The visitors at Harry's christening enjoyed the following menu:

"Calves head hash 3 boiled chicken 3 roast a ham 3 Ducks peas Cheescakes tarts flumery jelly wine sowers (sauce) calves foot py rice puding."

For visitors at a daughter's christening the table was arranged in the following manner:

"Top sammon and smelts fryed round at botom a Pig one corner boiled Turkey opposite Tongue the other corner wild Duck opposite Calves foot pye jellys and sillebubs Rasbery Cream wine sowers (sauce) Tarts Cranbury tarts Almond Cheescake preserved wine sauce."

The chief visitors at a christening were expected to give tips to nurses and maids. These varied in value from 10/6 in the case of a godparent to sixpence for a minor visitor. After her daughter Ann's christening Mrs. Hall made the following note: "As there was not so much got as at the last Cristning we took 5 shillings a piece from the Gosops²⁵ and gave it to the nurses and maid to make up 9 shillings which they got at the last Christning . . . Gave the Cook for a Day and a half 3/9."

The formula for each christening party was the same: A description of the menu and the parts of the table occupied by the dishes was followed by a list of guests with the amount they give in tips. For instance at Henry's christening in 1773 there is the following note:

"The company at Supper; what they gave both Nurse and Maid

		s. d.
Brother Hall Godfather	...	10 6
Mr. Broadbent Godfather	...	10 6
Mrs. Pocock Godmother	...	10 6
Mrs. Coulton	...	3 0
Mrs. Hair (Hare)	...	3 0
Mrs. Clapham	...	3 0
Miss Clapham	...	2 0
Mr. Brook	...	0 0
Mr. Field	...	0 0

My Aunt Broadbent stood Proxey for Mrs. Pocock. We laid down for her 10/6 which was repaid."

²⁵ The word "gossip" formerly used for godparents derives from the word God-sib.

Mrs. Hall's careful account of her visitors makes it possible to reconstruct the social circle to which the family belonged. The most frequent visitors were the Claphams, Smeatons, Hares, and Sheepshanks; Sister Wright and her daughter Betty, Aunt Turpin, Aunt Broadbent, Aunt Sheppard, Mrs. Bischoff, Mrs. Charnock, Mrs. Fenton, Miss Sally Walker, Mr. Brook, Mr. and Mrs. Field, Mrs. Gabbel, Mr. Coulton, Mr. and Mrs. Maud, Mrs. Jenkeson (Jenkinson?), Mr. Faucet, and Mr. Christopher Smith. Less frequent visitors were Mrs. Pocock, Miss Tidswell, Mrs. Mitchell, Mr. Jessup, Miss Wilkinson, Miss Elwand, and Miss Linton.

Of these the Broadbents, Smeatons, Jenkinsons and Turpins were relatives of Mrs. Hall; Mrs. Smeaton being the wife of the famous engineer. Mr. Sheepshanks and Mr. Bischoff were well known Leeds merchants. The Claphams, Hares and Wrights were related to Mr. Hall, Charles Clapham being also a partner in the firm of Clapham and Hall. Another regular visitor was Mr. Hall's sister Ann, who was an ardent follower of John Wesley, and is reputed to have entertained the great evangelist in her own home. Her first husband William Clapham died young leaving her with a large family, and she married secondly Robert Walker a wool stapler of Honley²⁶ near Huddersfield. Several of her daughters and a step daughter Sally Walker²⁷ attended the christening parties.

The friendship between some of the families in the Hall circle lasted well over a hundred years, and had far reaching effects of various kinds. In the next century, however, political differences between the Halls and Claphams caused certain members of the group to drift apart. The effect of the Napoleonic wars was to intensify the Tory characteristics of the Halls whereas most of the Claphams became devoted to the Whigs.

We are told by a local biographer that Henry Hall IV was "a severe stern and self-willed man"²⁸ who forced his son to enter the family business in spite of the latter's preference for the career

²⁶ The connection of the Halls and Claphams with Honley was an important factor in the destiny of many families in that neighbourhood. Here the evangelical influence of Mrs. Walker (née Hall) radiated in various directions. Her daughters married local men and spread the same type of piety among descendants and neighbours.

²⁷ Sally Walker was a woman of great initiative and courage. In 1789 she went to America with her husband John Waddington, a cloth merchant. She returned to Honley during the Napoleonic wars.

²⁸ *Biographia Leodiensis*: R. V. Taylor, p. 474.

of a clergyman. It seems that like most eighteenth century merchants Henry IV expected his son to follow in his footsteps, regardless of personal tastes, with the result that Henry V had the ordinary training for a life of commerce. After being educated at Hipperholme and Leeds grammar schools he was sent to Delft in order to learn Dutch and French, and afterwards worked in the stuff business under his father's guidance. Later, when he had a son of his own, Henry V gave him the university education and professional training which he had missed in his own life.

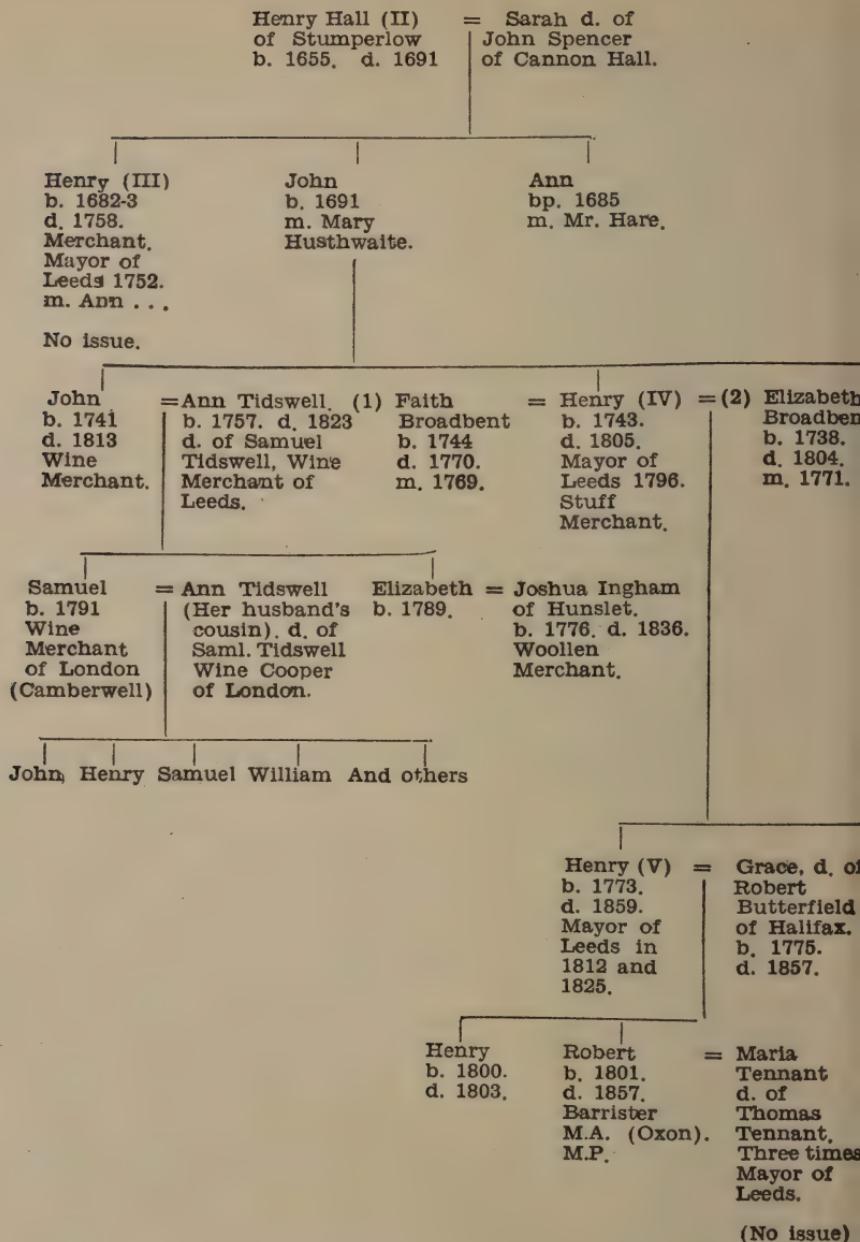
Henry's sister Ann—the only surviving daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Hall IV—had the customary education of a young lady of this period. She went to Mrs. Dawson's school in Leeds for "needel work and reading." We learn from the account book that "quarter Nanny's school" cost two shillings in 1782-1783, and four shillings in 1785. An extra two shillings was sent to the school on Collop Monday, and sugar was also sent on certain occasions. Firing had to be paid for extra. In June 1786 there is the entry: "Pd. for 10 lessons at Dancing school £1:0:0". Dancing was evidently far more expensive than all the other school subjects put together.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century several marriages and deaths occurred in the family circle: In 1801 Miss Ann Hall or Nanny as she was generally called, married Mr. Joseph Ingham of Hunslet Lane, a Leeds cloth manufacturer and merchant.²⁹ She was destined to have a large family, some members of which strayed far from their native land and died in distant quarters of the world. Their story belongs to another saga of Yorkshire history. Ann's brother Henry married Grace Butterfield of Halifax, and enjoyed a devotedly happy life with her for more than fifty-seven years. Their son Robert was a well known barrister and reformer.

Many older members of the family circle died at the turn of the century. A gold memorial ring set with pearls and plaited hair records the death of Mrs. Hall in December 1804, while another of the same type bears witness to her husband's decease in the following March. Various other old friends were gathered

²⁹ The following note appears in Joseph Ingham's account book under date April 1st, 1805: "To cash: Passed to my credit with Henry Hall and Sons in payment of Mrs. I's fortune £700." In March Ingham had received £2300 by Henry Hall's will.

PEDIGREE OF HALL—PART II.



Sarah	Mary	(1) William	Ann	(2) Robert
m. John		Clapham	=	Walker,
Wright		Stuff		of Honley,
		Mercht.		Wool
		of Leeds.		Stapler.
				d. 1794.

Thomas	Hannah	Mary	Ann	Rebecca
b. 1760.	b. 1761.	m. (1)	m. (1)	m.
d. 1833.	d. 1840.	Mr. Wright	Mr. Watkinson	Mr. Berry.
m. Hannah	m. William	(2)	(2)	
Vincent.	Brooke,	Mr. Thornton.	Rev. Richard	
	Merchant,		Foster.	
(See Clapham pedigree of Honley.)				

John	William	Joseph	Ann	= Joseph
b. 1774.	b. 1780.	b. 1785.	b. 1779.	Ingham,
d. 1793.	d. at	Wine	d. 1859.	of Hunslet.
	Brighton	Merchant	m. 1801.	b. 1769.
		of Leeds.		d. 1846.
		m. Mary, d.		Woollen
		of John		Merchant.
		Sykes.		

3 sons	Ann	Maria	Eliza	Mary
d. in	m. Mr. G.	m. Mr. H.		
infancy.	Nelson,	Rogers,		
	of Leeds.			

William	Joseph	Ann	Benjamin	Joshua	Elizabeth	Died
b. 1802.	b. 1803.	b. 1809.	b. 1810.	b. 1811.	b. 1813.	as
d. 1831	d. 1833	d. 1889.	d. 1872	d. 1846	d. 1863	infants:
in India.	in New	m. 1828	in Paris.	in	in	Henry,
	York.	Thomas	Wine	Sicily.	London.	John,
		Brooke,	Merchant	Wine	m.	James.
		Woollen	m. Emily	Merchant	Robert	
		Manufac:	Hinton.		Tidswell.	
					1	
		1			Six	
		Thirteen			children.	

to their fathers at this period, so that the social group underwent considerable changes. Meanwhile England was passing through one of the darkest phases in the Napoleonic wars. The days of eighteenth century feasting and jollity were over. A new and grimmer epoch had begun, in which the industrial north was fated to play a major rôle.

APPENDIX I.

Some extracts from Mrs. Hall's accounts 1773-1795.

	£ s. d.
Purple cockade	6
2 yrd Ribbon for sash for Harry, pale pink ...	2 8
Yrd of Damask for bibs	1 4
2 blew and white handkerchiefs	2 6
2 yds Double Edged lace for cap for Harry ...	1 2
Pink and white cockade for Jackey	6
9 yds mulbery Lutestring at 5/6 a yrd ...	2 9 6
For dying moroon Gown	5 6
Muslin for an Apron at 5/6 a yrd ...	5 6
Making white frock for Harry	10
Pr of red shoos for Jackey	1 9
Black cloack	13 6
4 pr stockings	13 0
5 yds of linnin for 3 frocks for Harry ...	10 0
Chip hat	1 10
5 yds muslin for Gown	2 10 0
Fanny Spink for making Harry's shirt ...	3
2 pr of stays	9 0
Two hats for Miss Claphams	10 0
Two red handkerchiefs for Mr. Hall ...	5 0
Pd mantua maker's Bill	8 6
A Bell Hoop	8 6
An Umberella	13 6
White Sarcenet Hat	12 6
Half a yrd of lawn for Mr. Hall's ruffels ...	5 6
7 yds cotton for Gown bought at Scarbro' ...	1 8 0
Pr of mock bevor Gloves for Mr. H. ...	1 8

Among miscellaneous items the following are of some interest :

Green silk to knit a purse	1 6
Gave my Brother's dyer for doing curtains ...	1 0
Hair rowle and curl	14 0
Gawse and lace and wire for cap	6 0
Tin save all candlestick	0 9
Testement for Harry	1 0
Pr of Clogs	4 0
Corral necklase for Nanny	1 6

Mr. Billam for curing my uncle 2 years ago ...	4	0
A stone of soap	8	6
All the children for fairings	1	0
Gave woman for cleaning church		6
Drinking tea Chappeltown		9
Concert tiket	10	6
Chymney sweeper		8
Post chaise to Austrop		4
Dying my green silk gown brown.	4	6
Silver gugglet	19	10
Case with a dozen silver handled knives and forks. 5 decanters. 30 wine glasses. 10 Ale glasses. 16 finger glasses. Goblets and posset glasses and jelly glasses. Four water crafts	4	4 0

APPENDIX II.

THE RECEIPT BOOK OF MRS. HENRY HALL. 17⁵~~6~~

In addition to her account book Mrs. Hall left a manuscript book in her own handwriting entitled : "A Receipt book containing a Great Variety of Receipts taken from the best Authors", and signed "Elizabeth Broadbent Feb: 9th 1756." In this book there are directions for making nearly two hundred dishes fit to grace the table of an alderman. Among the receipts are the following :

"To keep green peas till Christmas; Sauce for broiled herrings; to pickle cucumbers in slices; Sauce for a boiled goose; Sweet-bread pasties; a dish of curds; orange cream; a froth cream; to broil mackrel whole; to make kickshaws; to make mock oyster sauce; collop and eggs; Almond cream; rice cream; white wine cream; lemon cream; gooseberry foole; pancakes; oysters grilled in shells; fairy butter; to pickle sturgeon; to pickle oysters; to roast mutton venison-fashion; to dress a fillet of veal with collops; to roast the hind quarters of a pig lamb-fashion; to bake a pig whole; to stew Pidgens; to roast lobsters; to pitch-cock ells; fricassey of artichoke bottoms; to pickle mushrooms white; hart's horn flumery; to make wiggs; white hog's pudding; black pudding; a hare pye; kidney pasties; to bake herrings; a

pretty little sauce; white quince marmalade; a spunge bisket; to make macaroons; lemon Cheas cakes; ramekins; french apple pyes; Banbury cakes; king's cakes."

Some extracts from Mrs. Hall's receipt book may be quoted as examples of her style. They are typical of the period in their disregard for economy :

How to make a Calfe's head like a Woolpack :

"Take a fine fat calf's head with the Hair on. Scald it till the Hair will come off. When clean drest put it in cold water till quite cold. Then split it down from the top of the Head and take out the Toungue and Brains. Wash the Head clean. Then boyle it in a cloth till it is tender. Then take out all the bones. Cut off the loose meat and black bits. Wipe it dry. Season it well with salt. Close the half together and joyn the skin on every side. Put it in a cloth the shape you would have it, and then press it 24 hours in a press. Boyle salt and water to keep it when cold. It will keep about 3 weeks.

To butter Shrimps :

Stew a quarter of shrimps with half a pint of white wine and a nutmeg. Then beat 4 Eggs with a little white wine, a quarter of a pound of beaten Butter. Then shake them well in a Dish till they be thick enough. Then serve them with one sippet for a side dish.

To make Mrs. Swain's Great Cake :

Take 7 pound of flower well dried, seven pound of Courrants pickt, washt and dried, 6 nutmegs, one ounce of mace beaten very small, half a pound of sugar, one pound of raysons stoned and shread small. Mix it all together. Take a pint and a half of cream, warm it so hot as to melt a pound of good Butter, 16 Eggs but 3 whites, ~~Yell~~ beat one pint of sack, a little Rose water or Orange flower water, one quart of Ale yeast.

Your Eggs strayne, make a hole in the flower, put these ingredients into the flower warm. Strew your flower lightly over and sett by the fire till it worke through. Then mix it altogether with your hand and put it in your oven as fast as you can, in a tin or wood hoop which you have. Your oven must be hot before you wet your cake; it will take 2 hours baking. You must ice it. Take care of burning or scorching it."

THE HALLS IN THE AGE OF REFORM.

The children of Henry Hall IV grew up in a period of social change and revolutionary ferment. Such epochs tend to produce intense emotional reactions, not only among those who support the new ideas, but also among the few who feel that what they most value is being undermined and threatened with destruction. Unlike some of their relatives, the Halls were antagonistic towards the political reformers and all that they represented. As has been noted earlier the Claphams were among the keenest supporters of the Whig party in Leeds. Thus the old eighteenth century circle lost something of its former harmony.

Henry Hall V threw himself into local affairs with the zeal of a confirmed traditionalist. In the early part of the century the volunteer movement occupied much of his leisure time.³⁸ Later on he became increasingly absorbed in municipal affairs, and was mayor in 1812 and 1825. Everything connected with the history of Leeds was of interest to him, and he even made a careful copy of the voluminous charter presented to the town by Charles II, so that the mayor could refer to the duplicate without disturbing the original.

Owing to his early retirement from the family stuff-manufacturing business, Hall was able to devote a large part of his time to social and political work in Leeds. Having moderate but comfortable means, he was not ambitious to make any addition to his fortune, but was content to live at a modest standard while he applied himself to various types of public work. Meanwhile his son Robert began to show early signs of academic brilliance, and Henry was determined that he should be given every chance to develop his talents. There was to be no repetition of the old system by which Henry himself had been forced into the family business against his inclinations. The home in Kirkgate was an extremely happy one, and the three members of the family were devoted to each other. In such an atmosphere it was natural that the son should imbibe his parents'

³⁸ *Thoresby Society*: Vols. XXIV and XXVIII: Articles by Miss Emily Hargrave. Hall served as a lieutenant in the Leeds Volunteer Infantry (1794-1802) a captain in the Leeds Local Militia (1808-1814) and a captain in the volunteer force of 1820. The purpose of the volunteers was said to be the "defence of the borough against insurrection or any sudden commotion."

views without criticism or conflict. Robert was a serious and precocious child, almost invariably head of his class at Leeds Grammar School, and probably somewhat lacking in the mischievous high spirits of the more ordinary boys. His scholarship in classics gained him a first class at Oxford, and continued throughout his life to be one of his main sources of inspiration.

The years in which Henry Hall was mayor were times of special strain and difficulty. In 1812 the Luddite activities rose to a crisis, provoking nervous reactions throughout the industrial districts of Yorkshire, and according to the *Leeds Mercury* both Leeds and Huddersfield "assumed more the appearance of garrison towns than of the peaceful abodes of trade and industry".³⁹ During the second period in which Hall was mayor (1825-6) the election for the county entailed an exceptional amount of work as he was chairman for Mr. Fountayne Wilson, and the Hon. W. Duncombe in the West Riding.

The quickening political tempo in the twenties acted as a stimulus to people who enjoyed the controversy and excitement of elections. Henry Hall was a man who thoroughly relished the whole procedure, with all its conflict, suspense and mud-slinging. Throwing himself wholeheartedly into the fray he was undaunted by the mounting wave of opposition and popular clamour for reform. Like most traditionalists he was unable to see the need for political change. His loyalty to the constitution, the monarchy and the established church remained unswerving throughout his life, and provided the basis for all his political opinions. Anything that threatened established institutions was felt to be morally wrong and therefore politically reprehensible. To people of such views the domestic troubles in the period following the Napoleonic wars appeared as dangerous portents of revolution. Hence while the Leeds Whigs exploited the universal frustration and led the campaign for political reform, the Tories maintained that it was the duty of peace-lovers to help the rulers preserve order. It was for this reason that in January 1820 Alderman Henry Hall and Alderman Thomas Tennant organised the raising of a volunteer force, Hall being captain of the "Grenadiers" who were dressed in scarlet and white

³⁹ *Leeds Mercury*: April 14th, 1812.

uniforms. The rowdy reaction of the Leeds citizens towards this self appointed police force compelled the volunteers to retire from public view and led to sarcastic comments from the *Leeds Mercury*.

Among the many factors which made Henry Hall a Tory, the most important was his attachment to the established church. The leading Whigs in Leeds were dissenters almost to a man, and the prominent churchmen were inevitably committed to the Tory party. In fact like Queen Anne they regarded it as the "Church party", and a Whig was regarded as a natural enemy of the Church. This eighteenth century type of Toryism with its strong religious bias was still one of the most influential forces among the middle classes and yeomen. The large landowners who spent part of the year in London, tended to drop religion from their politics and to keep in touch with the latest trend of opinion in the South, whereas provincial people who were more deeply attached to old principles and ideas, carried on habits of thought which had descended from their ancestors.

The embarrassment caused by these differences was one of the main reasons for the split in the Tory party during the earlier half of the nineteenth century. In Yorkshire where the cry of "No Popery" was used as a rallying slogan at the election of 1826, there were Tories as well as Whigs who considered such war cries to be completely out of date. But among the old yeomen and smaller country squires anti-Catholic agitation was still effective. Many such people felt that Catholicism was sufficiently vital to become politically active again in England if given the chance, and their tradition associated the Roman Catholic religion with the political tyranny and deceit of James II.

On the subject of Catholic Emancipation Henry Hall was completely uncompromising. In a pamphlet letter to J. B. S. Morritt he expressed his conviction that the civil liberties enjoyed by Englishmen were due to Protestantism and the Revolution of 1688. If the Protestant Constitution of the country were altered he felt that the liberties established on that basis would soon disappear :

"The wisdom of our ancestors founded our Constitution on Protestant principles, and it was the object at the glorious Revolution to guard us from the return of Popish dominion, by securing to us a Protestant King and a Protestant Government."

He disagreed with his opponents' thesis that Catholicism was no longer a danger to freedom :

"The spirit of Popery is still what it ever was, adverse alike to religious and civil liberty; we determine then rightly that we will have none of its votaries to rule over us . . . We deny a right to power in the State to all who have not a common interest in defending the State."

Hall had no hesitation in asserting that he regarded the conflict of 1825-6 as one which involved religious and constitutional principles going beyond the range of ordinary politics :

"The warfare is not political but constitutional, and inasmuch as the Church is a part of the Constitution it is also religious: If then the appointed guardians of our holy Protestant Faith remain silent or inactive, the very stones will cry out . . ."

With regard to Ireland he admitted that assistance was necessary, but this could not be envisaged in purely political terms :

"The kind of assistance best adapted to the state of Ireland forms no part of our present enquiry; allow me only to observe, it must be of a more substantial nature than the whipped froth of theoretical equality and political power, placed beyond the reach of the lower order of her Roman Catholic population . . . If you would concede what is demanded on the grounds of 'equal civil rights' I contend that you must go farther; and if the Irish Catholic is to be allowed his claim for political power, you cannot refuse to the British artisan his equally strong claim to universal suffrage."⁴⁰

Hall's letter to Morritt represents the point of view of many old-fashioned Tories at this period, and reveals the deadlock between traditional ways of thought and the tolerant rationalism of the more sophisticated politicians. Although Church Toryism was widespread in the provinces, it was extremely unfashionable in upper class circles, and stamped its adherents as out of date reactionaries. Hall was aware that social prejudice lurked behind many of his opponents' comments. He detected their annoyance that a mayor of Leeds should have influence with the yeomen voters of the countryside, and that one whom they esteemed "beneath the degree of a country gentleman"⁴¹ should presume to address a meeting of the county. But such snobbery was a

⁴⁰ "On the Catholic Claims: A letter to J. B. S. Morritt Esq. occasioned by his Letter to Richard Bethell Esq." 1826.

⁴¹ Henry Hall's own expression: *A Letter to J. B. S. Morritt*, p. 5.

commonplace in the nineteenth century, and merely added an extra spice of interest to the political battle. The fact that Henry Hall was constantly in demand as a speaker and chairman shows that his gifts of political persuasion were fully recognised by fellow members of his own party.

Conflict between Whigs and Tories reached its climax at the time of the Reform Bill. As might be expected Henry Hall took the lead in organising a petition against this measure, and was chairman of the Leeds True Blue Constitutional Association formed on June 8, 1831. During this period of intense political activity, Henry's son began to take an energetic part in the stirring debates of the time, but unlike his father he preferred to take the offensive against the Whigs, by emphasising the need for industrial reforms, especially those connected with the employment of children. Most of the leading Whigs were opposed to such measures, and regarded any State interference in economic affairs as an infringement of individual rights. While the Tory democrats Oastler and Sadler drew attention to the factory system and its abuses, the Whigs focussed public interest on the reform of Parliament. Both questions were being debated in Leeds at the same period, and were the two main issues put before the voters at the election of 1832.⁴²

Robert Hall, who combined the talents of a brilliant barrister with the idealism of a reformer, soon became known as a popular public speaker. He was a keen supporter of Sadler at the general election of 1832, and lent his aid to both Sadler and Oastler in their campaign for the reduction of children's working hours. On April 24, 1832, he was one of the speakers at the great county meeting held in the Castle Yard at York, to petition the House of Commons in favour of the Ten Hours Factory Bill; and on September 4 of the same year he introduced Michael Sadler to the assembled electors in the Mixed Cloth Hall.

⁴² Trevelyan says that "factory legislation was never a party question" . . . (*British History in the Nineteenth Century*, p.247) but the beginning of the movement in Yorkshire was certainly associated with the Tory party, although in its later developments it was supported by country gentlemen of both parties as a counterblast to the manufacturers' attack on the Corn Laws. In his article on "Leeds and Parliamentary Reform", Professor Turberville states: "The leaders of this great humanitarian crusade were all Tories, and they had to contend with the coldness or active hostility of the Whigs and Liberals who resented any interference with the complete freedom of the employer" . . . (Thoresby Soc: Vol: XLI part I, p.33).

While the Tory reformers were speaking in favour of factory legislation, Henry Hall and his associates continued their campaign on behalf of the Leeds True Blue Constitutional Association. On May 14, 1832 a meeting was held by this body of diehards, and it was decided to vote an address to the King "expressive of our gratitude for his decision in resisting this attempt to invade the constitution⁴³ . . ." Thus the old and the new Toryism continued side by side, fighting a losing battle against the Whigs of Leeds.

The different emphasis of the older and younger generation of Tories was an important factor in weakening the party's resistance to the Whigs. While the younger men wished to go forward to fresh grounds, they had to contend with elderly members of their own party whose disapproval of change tended to act as a brake on their enthusiasm. In the life of Henry Hall we can see how a loyal devotion to old institutions may anchor an individual to an outworn political standpoint and brand him as a typical reactionary. There is no doubt that the old-fashioned Tories of this period were dangerously mistaken in many of their ideas, and not least in their fears that political reform would destroy the constitution. On the other hand Whig historians have often failed to recognise any kind of idealism among their opponents, or to discriminate between the different types of Tories who were sometimes joined in an exceedingly uneasy coalition. Between provincial church Tories and their leaders there was as wide a gulf as that between Whig dissenters and the great Whig magnates who occupied the high places of the land, while the gap between old and young Tories was often greater than that between the leaders and their followers.

Men like Alderman Hall fought to preserve what they considered a threatened heritage of national institutions and traditions. They had a genuine fear that everything they valued in English life might be swept away in a storm of revolutionary violence. This attitude was particularly common among men who had supported the government's policy during the long years of continental war and revolution, in opposition to the Whigs who favoured a patched-up peace with Napoleon. One cannot help feeling that the people who took part in the violent debates of

⁴³ Mayhall: *Annals of Yorkshire*. p. 386.

the twenties and thirties, would have done better for themselves if they had lived a more peaceful life. The legacy of bitterness left in the wake of these wordy battles prevented many good people from reaching any understanding with their former adversaries, while some of the mud thrown by rival newspapers stuck to the reputation of those involved in the conflict. The energy which Henry Hall devoted to his party brought him no social reward, but rather the reverse, for it associated his name with reaction long after the high ideals and motives which lay behind his behaviour were forgotten. To the son who shared few, if any, of his father's obscurantist opinions, the speeches of the older Hall must have been a considerable embarrassment, although Robert had the good sense to concentrate on his own programme without revealing that he differed from his parent.

In 1834 Leeds was faced with another election owing to Macaulay's appointment to high office in India. Sir John Beckett was brought forward as conservative candidate, and Robert Hall was chairman⁴⁴ of his committee. A contemporary news-sheet gives an account of the meeting of February 11, 1834, when Beckett met his various supporters at the Music Hall in Albion Street. The weakness of the political arguments is obvious throughout, for the Tories had not yet consolidated their position, and were conscious that their election inducements were inadequate. In thanking Beckett for coming forward at this crisis, Robert Hall referred to the overwhelming preponderance of Whig members in the West Riding: "Varied as were the characters of the candidates and the principles of the electors, the representatives were of one uniform hue. At Halifax two Whigs; at Bradford a Whig and a half (laughter); at Leeds two Whigs, and for the West Riding two stranger Whigs . . ."

In a rather unconvincing address, Sir John Beckett referred to the necessity of safeguarding the constitution, and attempted to prove that the anti-slavery movement was not a monopoly of the Whigs. He also made some scathing references to Lord Brougham's commissioners who were about to inquire into municipal corporations: "I believe the only information that will be conveyed by the commissioner who came into the town of Leeds . . . will be that he found the corporation of Leeds as pure

⁴⁴ Robert Hall was Sir John Beckett's chairman both in 1834 and 1835.

as holy water". Although Beckett was beaten by a narrow majority of 34 votes, the election of 1834 showed a distinct advance for the Tories when compared with the sweeping Whig victories of 1832. Henry and Robert Hall must have felt that their activities had not been wholly in vain. At the general election of 1835 they had the satisfaction of seeing their candidate returned by a good majority.

Gradually the bitterness of the Reform Bill period gave place to a more equitable phase of political life, and in face of the stern economic realities of the forties progressive people of both parties had to sink certain of their differences in order to concentrate on practical measures of social amelioration. Some idea of the distress in Yorkshire may be gleaned from the fact that in 1841 there were four thousand families on the books of Leeds workhouse, receiving aid from parochial funds. It was now becoming obvious that traditional methods of thought, whether Tory or Whig were wholly incapable of grappling with the problems of the new industrial age. Power was passing to men like Peel and Gladstone who had been reared in the atmosphere of commerce and understood the intricacies of world trade. The financial ineptitude of the great Whig magnates was becoming increasingly apparent to the British public.

In 1835 Robert Hall removed from Leeds to Westminster, where he soon enjoyed an extensive practice as a barrister. Although he was now tied to London by his work, Yorkshire people and politics were never far from his mind, and it was not long before he secured appointments which enabled him to return to his native county for part of each year. He was appointed Deputy Recorder of the Leeds Sessions in 1842, and Recorder of Doncaster in 1845. Meanwhile his numerous professional duties did not prevent him from pursuing various hobbies such as geology and numismatics, or from regular teaching in St. John's Sunday School at Westminster. But the subject that occupied most of his leisure moments was the problem of juvenile delinquency, and in the pursuit of this interest several of his long vacations were spent visiting reformatories on the continent. He also corresponded with various foreign specialists who were trying new approaches to the prevention and treatment of crime. The results of his investigations were published as lectures to the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.

In a lecture on the reformatory at Mettray near Tours, Robert Hall gave a full description of this pioneer community, hoping that some of its features might be incorporated in the English institutions which were then coming into existence. He had been immensely impressed by the happy atmosphere of this prison without bars, where the inmates were all employed in useful and creative labour, growing vegetables, looking after animals, or receiving manual training in well-equipped workshops. Among the characteristics he particularly noted was the system by which children were organised in small groups or families under house fathers, and the way in which young delinquents were guided and helped to adapt themselves after they had left the institution, not by paid officials, but by kindly curés and other voluntary helpers. There were no visible signs of confinement: "So far as any material impediments affect the matter, every inmate is free to come and free to go."

Later in his lecture, Hall spoke of the British attitude towards reformatories: "I am sure you will be glad to learn that shortly after the revolution of 1848, when the French government of the day was taking steps which would have deprived Mettray of all its pecuniary resources, charitable individuals in England and Holland offered ample supplies for carrying on the establishment. The British public indeed is now fully alive to the importance of the question and convinced of the practicability of reformation. Voluntary institutions are springing up all over the country. I have just had forwarded to me by your president the first report of one of the newest, that established by Miss Carpenter and Mr. Russell Scott at Kingswood. But what is doing at Leeds? I have heard that many Leeds children find their way to the institutions, but very few Leeds subscriptions. You have an admirably managed House of Correction, you have a representative who is one of the steadiest and most enlightened champions of the cause; neither precept nor example are wanting. I do not say that by doing your duty to the neglected classes amongst the children that crowd your streets and alleys you will restore a golden age of pastoral simplicity, but I do say that these are the practical means which Providence has placed within your hands

of coping with the overwhelming evils, which are otherwise the inevitable incidents to a condensed population".⁴⁵

To the end of Hall's life the problem of the child offender remained his principal interest, and his decision to stand for parliament was directly connected with his wish to ensure that various measures of penal reform should pass into law. It is for this reason that the statue erected to his memory in Leeds Town Hall depicts him with the Reformatories Bill laid upon a volume of the statutes at his feet.

Hall was aware that the exploitation of children which had been for such a long period one of the blackest features of manufacturing England, was not only an evil in itself, but provided a fertile seed-bed for future crime. He also saw that the factories were not the only places where children suffered from the cruelty and greed of their elders. People were becoming more conscious of the fact that there was a close connection between child criminals and slum backgrounds. The ferocious penal system which made little distinction between young and old was not really touching the sources of moral degradation, but merely dealing with some of its superficial effects. At least after many discussions the principle was established in 1854 that reformatory treatment should be tried for all child criminals under sixteen years of age.

There were many reasons why Robert Hall's attention should be drawn to this particular subject. His work as a barrister, his early interest in child labour, and his teaching in Sunday schools had brought him into direct contact with children's problems; while perhaps his own childless state added an extra motive for this paternal solicitude. He had seen with horror some of the effects of industrial development on human conditions, and noted the neglected children in the streets of London and Leeds. But the strongest influence behind his work and that of his fellow reformers was their religious faith and their sense of duty. Most of this group of Tory reformers were dead by the sixties, and the initiative in domestic reform passed to the Gladstonian Liberals.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Hall's visit to Mettray took place on September 22, 1852. His lecture was given on March 3, 1854, and was reported in the *Leeds Intelligencer* for March 11, of the same year.

⁴⁶ The greatest of the Tory reformers, Lord Shaftesbury lived on into the new epoch of Disraeli and Gladstone, but in 1878 he wrote in his diary that he had no friends in politics and very few associates in his public work.

Robert Hall shared his father's interest in the ecclesiastical affairs of his native town, and it was partly through his influence that the celebrated Dr. Hook came to Leeds in 1837. A newspaper account describes the curious coincidence that led to this appointment :

... It is worth mentioning perhaps that chance played quite a large part in the appointment of the most famous of all Leeds vicars—Dr. Hook. It was largely the result of a dinner party just over a century ago. Dr. Hook was then Vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry. Mrs. Wood, wife of a life-long friend of his happened to sit at a dinner next to Mr. Robert Hall, one of the Parish Church patrons and son of the senior of the 25 Leeds Trustees. She spoke of him in such glowing terms that when the then Vicar of Leeds died a few months later, Dr. Hook was put forward as a candidate on the strength of that conversation.⁴⁷

The situation which Dr. Hook had to contend with in Leeds was an extremely difficult one, for there was not only active hostility on the part of Dissenters and the Low Church party, but "great ignorance among the Church people of the principles of their own Church".⁴⁸ In these circumstances the support of men like the Halls was a valuable aid to the new vicar. Hook's views on factory reform and other working class problems agreed closely with those of Robert Hall, but it was to Henry that he turned in parochial emergencies, and the inscription in his Church Dictionary records his high opinion of the older man. This volume was dedicated to "Henry Hall . . . a loyal magistrate, a consistent Christian; a faithful friend". Hook's friendship meant a great deal to Henry and Robert Hall, for he was a man who combined great intellectual powers with a sympathetic understanding of social and individual difficulties.

The private life of the Hall family is to some extent illuminated by the letters of Benjamin Ingham, nephew of Henry Hall. The Ingham family who lived in Hunslet Lane,⁴⁹ were on intimate terms with their relatives the Halls. Both families were interested in each other's affairs, and kept one another supplied with news. In his letters to his sister Benjamin conveys an impression of the absorbing excitement of Leeds politics in the thirties, and the way in which family friends were divided over

⁴⁷ *Yorkshire Post*: December 4, 1938.

⁴⁸ *Dictionary of National Biography*: Article on Hook.

⁴⁹ See Hall pedigree II for the Inghams.

the burning questions of the hour. During the forties when he was abroad for nearly all of the time there is little recorded information about domestic happenings in Leeds.

Several Hall letters survive from the fifties, but most of these only contain accounts of the small incidents of everyday life. A letter written by Henry Hall on February 1 1850 mentions that he and his wife were sitting for their portraits :

... Mrs. Hall is pretty well, but tired of a daily sitting of two hours for the last fortnight to Mr. Ellerby an artist whom Robert sent down to take our joint portraits in one picture. I think he has been very successful; they are highly finished paintings : He has brought down with him an excellent likeness of Robert ... I wish my sister would be taken by him as her existing portrait is not a satisfactory one.⁵⁰

A letter from Robert Hall of the same year gives an impression of the hard-working barrister too absorbed in his professional duties to take off a day in the country. It is written to his cousin Mrs. Brooke of Honley :

Little Woodhouse,
Leeds.
19 October 1850

"My dear Anne

I find I cannot absent myself for a whole day from Leeds this time without neglecting matters which do not admit of being neglected, but shall be delighted to take some early opportunity of rubbing up old intimacies and forming new ones. The preparations for the business of Michaelmas term encroach sadly on the latter end of our vacation, and for the next ten days I find myself not merely confined to the spot but chained to the desk, inditing matters in which the intellect has but little part, and the heart none at all.

Ben⁵¹ will have given you an account of all at Leeds; indeed I fancy you have been there recently yourself. We think my mother quite as strong as she was a year ago, and we should not either from her looks or spirits have discovered that she had been very ill within the last few weeks. We hope to see my Aunt and Ben on Monday, and to have the opportunity of thanking him for his copy of the new constitution of Michigan.

⁵⁰ Letter addressed to Thomas Brooke of Honley. The sister to which Henry Hall refers was Mrs. Ingham

⁵¹ Benjamin Ingham had been on a visit to Leeds after returning from the United States. His mother was Robert Hall's aunt.

At the Hague we met with two gentlemen and ladies, names unknown, but whose talk both in substance and accent seemed to mark the neighbourhood of Huddersfield as their place of habitation. Can you help us to a conjecture as to their personal identity? Maria unites with me in kindest regards to Thomas and yourself, my Aunt and Ben—and I remain my dear Anne,

Ever your affectionate cousin

Robert Hall"

A few years after this letter was written Robert was involved in a serious railway accident⁵² near Leeds Central Station, while returning to London after the sessions. His train had scarcely left the station when it plunged off the rails, part of it being thrown from a viaduct upon a goods waggon twentyseven feet below. Hall broke both arms and legs, and received £4,500 damages from the company. His recovery was slow and necessitated a long interruption in the routine of his intensely active life. Some remarks on his convalescence are recorded in a lecture on early Christian history, given to the Leeds Y.M.C.A. in the autumn of 1856.

Referring to the accident, Hall said that very soon after it had happened he had realised that what was then brought upon him was done in great mercy. It had given him an interlude in which to study accounts of the early Christian period; he had not only re-read the New Testament in Greek, but also the works of various classical authors, specially Josephus, Tacitus, and Suetonius. By this means he had been enabled to build up a clearer picture in his mind of the Roman Empire as it appeared to both pagan and Christian observers. His lecture which was entitled *Mnason of Cyprus* was an attempt to reconstruct the vision of a typical early Christian. Afterwards he referred to "the present times" (1856) being as alarming as they could be, although he did not admit that any times were very alarming, because all things were brought about by "the over-ruling providence of God".⁵³

By 1857 Hall had sufficiently recovered to fight another political contest on his own behalf.⁵⁴ His father in a letter

⁵² This accident took place on January 3, 1855.

⁵³ C. S. Spence: *Memoirs of Eminent Men of Leeds*, p. 31.

⁵⁴ Robert Hall had been a candidate for Leeds in 1852, but had failed to get sufficient votes. There had been two conservatives standing on that occasion.

dated March 4, 1857 refers to the political battle which was about to take place :

... Thank God I am pretty well, and I think the excitement of electioneering movements tends to divert my thoughts in some degree from the one subject which presses on my mind.⁵⁵ Robert is at York engaged in Assize business. He is well out of the way whilst the Liberals are squabbling and trying to settle their differences. I expect he will come to fight his own battle about the middle of next week. In the meantime his canvassers are working well for him . . . I learn from my tailor that the quantity of cloth required for the overcoat with which you are so kind to present me is 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ Yds: Please send this in a parcel with the words "For Mr. Hall" enclosed, and addressed to "Mr. Henry Beakey, Tailor and Draper, Market St. Halifax."⁵⁶

In another letter of this period, addressed to R. W. Waddington of Liverpool, Henry Hall again refers to the family loss and the coming election :

I thank you for your kind condolences on the loss of my dear Partner after a happy union of 57 years. She fell into her last sleep quietly by my side from four days attack of Bronchitis, without previous suffering which to me is a great comfort. I have my son and daughter with me for a few weeks, he being a candidate to represent Leeds in Parliament. He has just arrived from York Assizes but will be prevented attending those of Liverpool. I am pretty well under the weight of 84 years, but so nearly blind that I cannot revise what I have written.⁵⁷

Robert Hall was returned as member for Leeds at the general election of 1857. He took the oath in May, and sat in the House of Commons on two or three subsequent occasions. During one of these sittings he caught a chill, and later succumbed to an attack of influenza. It was thought that the exertion of the election had proved too much for a constitution that had been severely weakened by his accident. His death took place on May 26, 1857.

In an obituary published in the *Leeds Intelligencer* Robert Hall's career was summarised in the following paragraph :

⁵⁵ Mrs. Henry Hall had died in the early spring of 1857.

⁵⁶ Letter addressed to Thomas Brooke of Honley.

⁵⁷ Letter of March 19, 1857. Addressed to Robert Walker Waddington of Liverpool.

As a lawyer he ranked among the soundest; as a judge he was an ornament to the bench; as a friend he secured the love of all who knew him; as a man he diligently endeavoured to do all the good that in his sphere of life he could accomplish.⁵⁸

This was the estimate of a Tory newspaper, and one can therefore allow for a certain bias in favour of the late conservative member. But the Whigs also showed appreciation of Robert's character, and at the unveiling of his statue the Mayor said that "although some of them differed conscientiously from their much lamented friend, they yet believed that he was guided by motives of the highest kind, and with the greatest wish for the benefit of his country."⁵⁹

Although there was a general feeling in Leeds that Robert Hall had been more than a mere party politician, the continual bustle of politics was not even stopped for the funeral, and the *Intelligencer* was full of disgust at the behaviour of Liberal enthusiasts like Mr. Remington Mills, "who could not wait twenty-four hours although he knew very well that no movement would be made in the meantime by anyone who intended to oppose him."⁶⁰ However there were friends of both parties who respected the sorrow of the old father, and the presence of Dr. Hook who came from Leamington to conduct the funeral service, was an additional source of comfort.

Henry Hall spent the last few years of his life in quiet retirement at Bank Lodge in Kirkgate. His interest in Leeds and its people remained to the end, and much of his public work was only given up when he was well over eighty.⁶¹ He could look back on a long life spent in the service of local institutions, yet he retained a lively interest in the younger people and their doings. Correspondence of these last years reveals a kind and thoughtful old gentleman who preserved a patient dignity in the face of heavy bereavements and approaching loss of sight. Family tradition testifies to the affection with which he was regarded by a large circle of relatives.

⁵⁸ *Leeds Intelligencer*: May 30, 1857.

⁵⁹ *Leeds Intelligencer*: July 13, 1861.

⁶⁰ *Leeds Intelligencer*: May 30, 1857.

⁶¹ In 1853 he had resigned from being treasurer of Leeds Library, an office which he had held since 1808. An account book in his handwriting may still be seen in the Library. In 1854 he also resigned the office of treasurer to the Leeds General Infirmary after holding it for thirty-eight years.

One of the last letters to be preserved was written in anticipation of a visit to his niece Mrs. Brooke of Honley :

Sept 2, 1857.

My dear Niece,

I was glad to hear from Ann Hall that the elder branches of your family were pretty well, and that you hoped to see me on a visit to Northgate House agreeably with your kind invitation. I hope the junior branches and Miss Godby are relieved from their indispositions.

I saw my brother yesterday and found him sitting comfortably at his books. The medicine which he is taking seems to have a good effect in staying somewhat the progress of his disease. The question is whether it may weaken the constitution if too frequently administered. I am pretty well as to general health, but worse and worse as to my sight.

And now my dear as to my visit. Nothing could afford me greater pleasure than spending a few days with you—if you can put up with such a useless piece of lumber—and to visit once more the scenes of my early recollections. I shall be at liberty after Monday next, and must be at Leeds early on Tuesday the 15th. I shall be glad to come to you on Tuesday next, by any train which you recommend. Can I not come to Honley station by the North Western line? If any subsequent day would be more convenient please say so. Mrs. Robert will visit her brother at the same time. She unites in kind regards to you and Thomas.

My love to all the young ones and your Mother.

Believe my dear ^{me} Niece

Your very affec : Uncle

Henry Hall.

Henry Hall died in 1859 and was buried at Whitkirk, the church of his ancestors, Broadbents, Smeatons and Morkills. With his death there passed away one of the last links with eighteenth century Leeds. During his lifetime the town had changed beyond all recognition, and even its most loyal inhabitants confessed themselves appalled by the conditions brought into existence by the Industrial Revolution. Favourite residential parts of the town like Hunslet Lane had become smoke-begrimed and unattractive. Old Mrs. Ingham complained to her daughter in October 1858 that a certain Miss Humble was her only "good neighbour" left in the vicinity. A number of merchants who had made their fortunes were departing to set

up as country gentlemen, and the Halls were regarded as one of the oldest families in Leeds, although they had only come to the town in the eighteenth century.

After the deaths of Robert and Henry Hall the old social circle to which they had belonged gradually came to an end. The numerous descendants of the earlier Halls became scattered throughout the world, and soon even the memory that there had been any link with Leeds was completely erased from their minds. It could be maintained however that the influence of the old circle was still a reality, even where least recognised.

The study of the Hall family reveals an attachment to certain ideals of public and private conduct, an abiding interest in established institutions, and a fear of any change which might destroy the traditions of the past. These attitudes firmly instilled over several generations often provided an effective barrier against the infiltration of new ideas. Certainly they cannot be regarded as in any way above criticism. On the other hand many of the individuals concerned gave devoted and untiring service to their Church and community. The limitations as well as the valuable characteristics of such a family have their roots in the past, and can only be understood against the background of England's complicated history.

The Rockinghams and Yorkshire Politics 1742-1761

By C. COLLYER, M.A.

The middle years of the eighteenth century were a period of varying fortunes for the Rockingham interest in Yorkshire. Before the First Marquess of Rockingham died in 1750 the parliamentary influence which he had long claimed and in some measure achieved was compromised by the success of rival interests. The years of his son's apprenticeship as a great political magnate were preoccupied with the recovery of the initiative which his father had lost, and in this he was eminently successful. After a setback at his first attempt in 1753, the young Marquess established in Yorkshire the secure parliamentary influence which formed the core of the famous connexion named after him. By the beginning of George the Third's reign both county members were attached to his interest, one of them his personal friend, the other owing his election in part at least to Rockinghamite recognition and support. The present paper traces, and attempts an explanation, of this decline and recovery.

Papers recently published on the Yorkshire elections of 1734 and 1742 contain some discussion of the earlier political career of the first Marquess, then Earl of Malton, who founded the interest as a great power in the parliamentary affairs of the county.¹ The sources of his influence were his great landed property,² his connexions, and the official relations he enjoyed as the leading ministerial figure among the resident magnates. These were the primary elements of aristocratic leadership, and they always gave him a certain pre-eminence. But this pre-eminence was conditioned by many factors, not least by Malton's own limitations as a practitioner of the arts essential for the management of a great county. He was inclined to overplay his hand, and in a county where there were a great many proprietors, of whom half a dozen or more were strong enough to aspire to leadership themselves, this was a cardinal fault. Yorkshire, moreover, a constituency almost unique among those of the unreformed representative system, had an electorate of fifteen thousand which included a strong class of gentry, many free-

holders unattached to great interests, and other independent elements of rising importance in the towns and manufacturing districts. The easy sway of aristocratic influence which was essential to maintain friendly connexion on its higher levels had therefore to be matched by a certain 'popularity' below. This could be won partly by the same quality of moderation, and in the various ways by which a great magnate could acquire a reputation for generosity, hospitality, and attachment to the interests of the county. His relationship to particular issues in politics could on occasions also be of the greatest importance. A combination of factors and circumstances which illustrate all these elusive ingredients of power deprived the Earl of Malton of the assured parliamentary influence in Yorkshire which his son later achieved. He first intervened in county politics in the last year of George the First's reign and his weight contributed powerfully to the return of a candidate favourable to the ministers. Malton himself, then Sir Thomas Watson Wentworth, took the other seat for a short time, and after his accession to the peerage he nominated a successor who represented the county as the second whig member during the first parliament of George the Second. These events may be said to have opened the great whig age in the county, for until this time the Yorkshire representation had been in the possession of interests independent of the ministers since whig supremacy was secured at Westminster by the Hanoverian succession.³ Malton's position as 'head of the court interest' was established, soon to be recognised by his appointment to the Lord Lieutenancy of the West Riding where his great house at Wentworth and his principal estates were situated. He was also Custos Rotulorum of the North Riding where he had a borough interest in the town of Malton. But political leadership was not held on easy terms during the remaining years of the Walpole's administration. That statesman's system and his long monopoly of power aroused strong feelings among the gentry, mercantile interests, and other independents in a great 'popular' constituency; and heads of great aristocratic interests were also antagonised in one way or another by the minister and his friends. Here was both the rank and file and the potential leadership of a county opposition which in Yorkshire as elsewhere during the seventeen-thirties acquired some sort of identity as an electoral force under the name of the Country

Interest. In the general elections of 1734 and 1741 this opposition successfully challenged the whig domination under Malton, his personal pride and pretensions contributing in no small degree to the setback of his 'party'. His friend Sir Rowland Winn was defeated by the opposition candidate in 1734, and Malton earned a reputation for attempting to 'dictate to the county' by an extravagant personal campaign to set the election aside and return Winn by petition. These high-handed tactics weakened Malton's connexion, above all causing a breach with the Howards; they alienated many gentry and other independents, and contributed probably more than anti-ministerial propaganda to the victory of the Country Interest under the Earl of Carlisle at the general election of 1741. The official whigs won back one of the seats at a contested bye-election early the following year, but this was less a personal victory for the West Riding leader than the result of divisions in the opposition, the strong intervention in their own right of other great proprietors on the ministerial side, and the popularity of a candidate who was connected only by the fiction of the whig name to Malton and his circle.

Malton attached himself to Walpole during these years, and he had known Newcastle since they were at Cambridge together. He leaned heavily on the favour of the ministers, not least for the satisfaction of a keen ambition for personal honours. But his relations with them were those of a magnate who rated his services high, and his letters to Newcastle about patronage show a readiness to complain if his applications did not meet with success.⁴ In the affairs of the county representation the ministers were careful of his susceptibilities, for he was jealous of his Yorkshire position and claims. The Newcastle correspondence of the Walpole period does not suggest that the Duke took much part in the parliamentary affairs of the county independently of the Malton connexion. But the relationship began to change after Newcastle and his brother Henry Pelham succeeded to Walpole's leadership, though this was not fully apparent for some years. There were already some indications in the county contest of 1742 that Newcastle was interesting himself more closely in Yorkshire politics beyond the confines of his own borough interest at Aldborough and Boroughbridge. Lack of money for a second struggle at the polls within seven years

contributed more than anything else to facilitate the Duke's intervention. Malton had spent a fortune on the election and petition of 1734, and he was not disposed to shoulder the same burden again, especially now that the whig cause was not so exclusively a Wentworth Woodhouse affair. The managers of the whig campaign asked for ministerial assistance for 'we poor dogs in the country', and the Duke was ready to oblige. A member of the Loyal Yorkshire Club in town, he solicited contributions to help meet expenses far beyond the resources of the fund raised in the country. At the same time he cultivated other Yorkshire proprietors, causing Malton to complain that the contributions were used 'to puff' other interests. Two of these particularly, assumed a new prominence in the affairs of this election; they were the D'Arcy interest of the North Riding under the headship of young Lord Holderness, and the Ingram interest in the person of Lord Irwin of Temple Newsam who took a leading part in the campaign in the East and West Ridings.

The D'Arcys had a long history in the county, exercising from Hornby Castle their influence over extensive parts of the North Riding, though there were many independent freeholders in the dales, as well as other great interests such as the Duncombes and that of the Turners on Tees-side and the north-east coast. Sir Conyers D'Arcy, who sat in parliament for the family borough of Richmond, had long-established relations with the ministers; he held a court office and exercised the Lord Lieutenancy of the Riding during the minority of his nephew Holderness. To the Duke of Newcastle Holderness owed his later diplomatic employment and ultimately the Secretaryship of State. Irwin's interest lay in the East Riding where he was Lord Lieutenant, and he also cultivated an interest in certain parts of the wool manufacturing district, though his influence was greater among the more considerable merchants of Leeds than in the clothiers' country to the west where aristocratic whig connexion possessed only the slightest hold before the second half of the eighteenth century.⁵ Though neither of these families commanded the weight of property which gave Malton his great domain to the south and his primacy in the county as a whole, their influence increased in the era of the Pelhams. Irwin, especially, established strong claims to the recognition of the ministers by a reputation won as Lord Lieutenant during the Jacobite invasion.

The crisis of the Forty-Five was in many ways a test of local reputation and influence, especially in the exposed northern counties where Lords Lieutenant and their deputies had to improvise defences before regular forces were brought back from the continent in the autumn.⁶ At the same times, the crisis complicated the conditions of leadership in the country by carrying forward the dissolution of old alignments in politics, already affected to some extent by revolutions of faction at Westminster, weakening the old prejudices and proscriptions which had served the interest of ministerialists of Malton's generation. Politics in the county could hardly be the same again after the widespread support of all sections of local society for the Yorkshire Association and the volunteer troops raised under its provisions. Though the Earl of Malton took the prominent part in these measures which befitted his position and prestige, he was not closely identified with the new spirit of union which brought old opponents together for the defence of the county. He still had to be convinced that people like Lord Ailesbury, one of the leaders of the Yorkshire opposition in 1742, were not plain Jacobites.⁷ His prejudices were probably much the same as those of his relation Earl Fitzwilliam who wrote to him about another magnate of the late opposition at the time when the rebels crossed the border : 'I saw the Great Earl of Carlisle at the House of Lords today, who is frightened out of his wits thank God, for they will march directly over his estate, which he richly deserves, for he has done all in his power to invite them.'⁸ But the Ailesburys and Carlisles, and the many Yorkshire gentlemen and freeholders who had favoured their politics were all loyal subjects of King George; and many of them, including the 'tories' were brought to York to join in the inauguration of the Association and the establishment of the local companies. But it was Archbishop Herring who promoted this new spirit, insisting that all should be 'kept above party'. If not plainly unsympathetic, Malton took little part in the reconciliation. He was getting too old to leave established ways, and he still had an eye on greater honours which no doubt he thought could best be won by claiming more exclusive credit for Yorkshire loyalty and Yorkshire measures. But pursuit of these ambitions did little to enhance his reputation in the county.

Malton contributed with his customary generosity to the upkeep of the local companies ; he raised a troop among his tenants and as Lord Lieutenant he commanded the West Riding Regiments. He stayed on in the county during the dangerous months, continuously occupied with many details of security and the problem of arming the volunteers. But he came into conflict with local feeling over important issues raised in relation to the status and maintenance of the companies. An undertaking had been given that the enlisted men should not be required to go out the county or be embodied in the regular regiments which by the autumn of 1745 were on service in the north. It was out of the question to break this agreement, but in December when the immediate danger appeared to be over, Malton was very ready to comply with the ministers' suggestion that recruits should be raised from the companies for the army under Wade, and to this end he favoured their speedy disbandment. He submitted his plans to a Pontefract meeting and there met with strong opposition, opposition which no doubt reflected popular dislike of the standing army.⁹ Irwin of the neighbouring Riding, also took sides against Malton's plan on the ground that there was still a threat to the county from possible landings by enemy groups on the east coast. Disappointed at the failure of his plans, Malton was ready to wash his hands of the local affairs which had now kept him in the country for more than six months, and early in 1746 when the old whigs under Newcastle and Pelham were throwing up their offices in order to defeat the attempt to form a Bath-Granville ministry, Malton said that he hoped to get rid of his Lieutenancy 'in the crowd.'¹⁰ Encouraged by his family in town, he finally went off to court to receive the thanks and favour of his sovereign, leaving to others in the county the task of winding up the affairs of the Yorkshire Association and bringing the companies to an end. Malton got his marquisate, taking the style of Rockingham from the barony he inherited at this time, but there were unfavourable judgements in influential quarters of his record during the crisis. Archbishop Herring had a better opportunity than almost anyone else to see how the great men of Yorkshire and other parts of the north had responded to the needs of the situation : ' . . . as to the king's affairs in this county', Herring wrote to his friend the Lord Chancellor, 'the Rockingham name and distinction must give him

precedence, and he is certainly a generous and honest man, yet Irwin and Winn are most to be depended upon for the execution of them.'¹¹ This was a prophetic remark in relation to the impending election for a new parliament in the following year; the ministers were not in future to rely on the Rockingham interest alone for the promotion of their cause in the county.

When Newcastle and his brother, securely established after their defeat of Granville and Bath, were preparing for the return of 'a good whig parliament' at the election of 1747, the situation in Yorkshire almost invited their intervention. The two members at this time were Stapylton, the opposition nominee of 1734, and Cholmley Turner, who had represented the county since 1726, except for a brief interval when he withdrew from politics between 1741 and 1742. Turner was an independent, though a supporter of Newcastle; his distinctive characteristic was a dislike of aristocratic domination in the county, and with his own strong interest in the North Riding as well as a following among gentry throughout the county, he had always been able to show a certain coolness towards some of the greater magnates. He had always refused to stand merely at the behest of the aristocratic leadership, and at the two previous nominations in 1742 and 1734 he had kept Rockingham and his friends in suspense until finally agreeing to accept the honour at what he called 'the command of the gentlemen' in a county meeting. Now, in 1747, he could not be persuaded to stand again, giving as his reason that there were 'so many noblemen' who were 'thought to have the interest and direction of this county.'¹² Turner's refusal left Rockingham without a candidate, for his friend Sir Rowland Winn declined to accept the nomination.¹³ It was, moreover, to Newcastle and not to the Yorkshire leader that Turner first communicated his decision to retire;¹⁴ and there can be little doubt that the Duke, forewarned of the vacancy and taking advantage of Rockingham's difficulties, approved if he did not actually suggest, that the seat should be filled by Sir Conyers D'Arcy. The arrangement was carried through without difficulty, and in July D'Arcy was nominated, together with Stapylton, and exchanged his borough for the county, the ministers remaining quietly in the background.¹⁵ Rockingham was in no doubt where the real influence lay behind this advancement of a rival interest, and within a few months he was writing with some bitterness to Newcastle about

the 'overpowerful solicitation (in patronage matters) of Lord Holdernesse, who should not think to dictate in this county.'¹⁶ The Pelhams' initiative in the affairs of this election was in fact greater than Malton suspected at the time, for they were not only associated with the victory of the D'Arcy interest; they also established control over Stapylton's seat.

The Country Interest on which Stapylton was first elected as member for the county had achieved whatever cohesion it possessed as an electoral force from chance aristocratic divisions and the exceptional parliamentary opposition of the Walpole era. The second of these conditions had now disappeared in a confusing welter of faction, and many of the 'patriots' once elected to the accompaniment of demands for place bills, a lower land tax and an end of continental entanglements, were now no longer tied by such promises and were correspondingly freer to set their course by more personal considerations. Stapylton was one of these floating ex-'patriots'. Little is known about him; he may have been a follower of Pulteney, for he was certainly one of the moderates who had been satisfied with something less than a clean sweep of the old gang when Walpole was pulled down.¹⁷ In any case, well before the dissolution of 1747, Stapylton was at the turning point of a not uncommon parliamentary career which began with opposition and ended with a place. He had by this time made his peace with the Pelhams, and they no doubt were behind his subsequent approach to Rockingham to facilitate his 'standing quietly for the county' at the approaching election.¹⁸ Stapylton wrote to the West Riding magnate a few days after the county meeting which nominated him jointly with D'Arcy :

My Lord,

I am very willing and desirous to hope that my resolution to serve in Parliament for this county has been made with your Lordship's approbation, being truly ambitious not only to preserve the esteem of those gentlemen who first introduced me into the service, but also to reconcile to me your Lordship's favourable opinion, which I shall look upon as the greatest honour, and the surest means to recommend me to others of dignity and credit within this county who have not hitherto favoured me with their voices . . .

Rockingham replied :

Sir,

I congratulate you upon your resolution, never having any inclination to give you personal opposition, unless you were to be chose upon the footing of distressing publick measures right or wrong. I readily embrace your friendship . . .¹⁹

But the friendship was only indirectly with Rockingham; Stapylton had come over for a place, and that only the ministers could give. He finally received a Commissionership of Customs in 1750, and in the meantime Newcastle and his brother had chosen a successor for the county. This deal at the expense of Rockingham's influence was not revealed to him when Stapylton was re-elected in 1747, and it finally fell to Henry Pelham to write to him on the delicate matter of the prospective vacancy and the name of a successor.

The Pelhams' man was Lord Viscount Downe of Cowick Park; he was of a tory family, and his guardian the Honourable Christopher Dawnay had been a recognised opponent of the Rockingham faction in the county, but Pelham now vouched for the young man's 'political and private character', expressing himself as 'very well satisfied of Lord Downe's zeal for the King and his family', and hoping for Rockingham's support of his candidature.²⁰ The Yorkshire leader's reply did not hide his irritation with a scheme which had obviously been afoot for some time without any attempt to consult him: 'That Sir Miles Stapylton was to have an employment . . . and my Lord Downe to be recommended to succeed him, has been rumoured above a twelve month . . .'. Rockingham did not refuse his support, but deplored anything like 'a private nomination in London', and said he would wait until the broader opinion of the Yorkshire whigs was known at a county meeting. Rockingham, it has been shown, had not himself always acted with the regard to local feeling which many of the gentry expected; but now, with no candidate of his own to propose, and preoccupied with personal affairs, he was content to resort to the neutral role of interpreter of the county's wishes. 'I am under so many obligations to my countrymen in Yorkshire', he told Pelham, 'that in gratitude I am bound not to engage myself without their approbation, which can only be obtained by a general meeting at York; this is my opinion

which I now give because asked, and with all due deference.²¹ The last visit the old Marquess made to York was for the meeting held there in April 1750; he declined to nominate Downe who was proposed by the Pelhams' close friend Irwin, and seconded by Sir William Lowther. No other candidate was put forward and Downe was elected with 'the general concurrence of the gentlemen of the county'.

Rockingham maintained until the end his lifelong association with the Pelhams, and shortly before his death Newcastle's good offices expedited the last of many favours which their 'ancient friendship' had brought him; this was the advancement of his son, Charles, then Lord Malton, to an earldom in the peerage of Ireland.²² Malton at this time was making the grand tour, sending marbles from Italy for the embellishment of the great house at Wentworth, visiting Prussia, for whose system he conceived a dislike, and being charmed by our 'allies the Emperor and Empress'. At Hanover he was received by the King; Newcastle was there and paid the young man marked attentions, insisting on his 'dining and supping every day with him'.²³ The old Marquess found some comfort in this powerful protection, but there was a strong note of aristocratic independence in the concern with which in his last years he contemplated his son's future course and associations. There were anxious enquiries about some of the young man's correspondence with people at home, and he was warned against the danger of becoming a 'dependent cypher' and a 'ministerial tool'.²⁴ The same note was struck in a last testament left for him among his father's papers 'to be delivered to him on his return from his travels before he becomes of age, which he will be on May 13th, 1751'. He was exhorted to show 'a steady attachment to . . . King and country, not to be shook by ambition or awed by frowns; but with or without the smiles of any minister, to fear God and honour the King'.²⁵

The old Marquess was buried 'with great pomp' at York in the last week of 1750. The new Marquess returned to England and his great inheritance a few months later. There was a great coming-of-age party at Wentworth where three thousand guests were said to have dined in the house off a remarkable variety of dishes. But this was a political as well as a gastronomic event, an announcement that there was a new head of Yorkshire's greatest political dynasty.²⁶

Within eighteen months Rockingham was engaged in preparations for the nomination of candidates in Yorkshire at the general election which lay not far ahead; this event would be the first great test of his 'figure' in the county and beyond. Meanwhile, he had taken his seat in the Lords, and by Newcastle's agency had been appointed to the Lord Lieutenancy of the West Riding and the office of Custos Rotulorum of the North Riding in succession to his father.²⁷ The Duke, recalling his life-long friendship with the first Marquess, wrote to the young man: 'I flatter myself that a constant attention to deserve the friendship and good opinion of my late friend in everything that depended upon me, will be an inducement to your Lordship to continue that friendship to one, who out of personal regard to yourself as well as your family, will omit no opportunity of showing his earnest desire to continue the same intimacy which he had the honour to have with your father . . .'²⁸ The impending struggle in Yorkshire was to test these professions in circumstances of some embarrassment to Newcastle and his brother, for it was their connexions, or at least one of them, whom Rockingham was determined to challenge by the nomination of his friend Sir George Savile.

The Saviles, of Rufford Abbey in Nottinghamshire, had a long connection with Yorkshire and with Rockingham's family. They were great county landowners with estates in the Halifax, Dewsbury and Lupset areas; and Sir George's late father had represented the county as an associate of the first Marquess in the parliament of 1727-1734. The two young men had been brought together during the Rebellion when Savile led one of the West Riding companies nominally under the command of his friend, then a youth of fifteen, and this was probably the origin of their life-long association. Of Savile's ambitions to represent the county at this time little can be said; he may have accepted the proposal from Rockingham, but once the movement for his nomination was on foot, he entered on the campaign with enthusiasm. A few of his letters remaining among his friend's papers indicate at this early stage in his career something of the qualities which were to make 'Independent Savile' a Yorkshire idol for nearly thirty years and a widely respected senator far beyond the borders of the county. 'I look on my behalf on the present occasion', he told Rockingham, 'as what must in great

measure fix my character in life'; and he hoped to find his nomination supported at a county meeting 'by all that's good'.²⁹ Rockingham's motives for supporting his friend were no doubt of a different quality. It was natural for the young grandee to devote himself to the strengthening of a political tradition which was an accepted part of his inheritance, and to begin his career as a great magnate with an attempt to recapture in the county the initiative which had slipped from his father's hands. In this he was encouraged by his mother and probably also by his wife. The old Marchioness resented the effacement of her late husband's influence and no doubt attributed it to the ministers, writing scornfully of those who allowed themselves to be 'caught up . . . in the Duke of Newcastle's pocket'.³⁰ When the divisions provoked by Rockingham's challenge to the established interests were at their height, Pelham wrote from the north to his brother that: 'they all lay it to his mother, who when she was in the county talked with great warmth and of course indiscreetly'.³¹

By early 1753 the two young men and their agents were canvassing in readiness for a county meeting to be held at York in the summer, gossip in anti-Rockingham circles attributing to him a design to break the peace of the county 'out of pique to one or rather both' the present members.³² But the established interests were in a strong position, having the advantages which came from quiet possession and close relations with the ministers. Downe was the Pelhams' particular friend; they had brought him in for the county in the first place and had strongly recommended him to Yorkshire magnates since that time. D'Arcy's position was clearly defined by the advancement of his nephew Holderness to the Secretaryship of State two years previously by Newcastle's influence. It soon appeared that a majority of the great interests in the North and East Ridings, and some in the West, were in favour of the present members. Carlisle, Northumberland, Irwin, Galway and others were among the majority. Some, like the Turners of the North Riding would be against the Rockingham interest almost as a fixed principle, while others such as the Duke of Bolton 'declined to meddle'.³³ 'The trading parts' were widely reputed to be for Savile, but there was a good deal of room for speculation on the course of the anonymous mass of freeholders. Irwin was one of Newcastle's principal informants, and his letters illustrate certain of the issues

which were discussed in their supposed bearing on the divisions. In June he gave an account of riots in Bradford, Leeds, and Wakefield :

... I am very sorry to say that the lower people in and about Leeds seem to be very well pleased with what the rioters have done, and particularly at a place called Pudsey, a settlement of the Moravians. Their general pretence is the duty upon coal, and indeed in the bills passed last sessions I own I think it is put too high for the good of a trading country, where cloth cannot be made without fire; but it was no reason for 'em to meddle with the turnpikes about Leeds where the coal pays but half duty . . . it is generally agreed they have used some odd expressions in relation to the government.

Irwin also attached importance to another question in relation to the election :

I mean the Jews Bill which some of the parsons in the western parts of the county have taken in a wrong light, and preach against it and call it an act destructive of religion . . . I am afraid the ignorant populace may be misled by the men of heat, and men of bad designs, and it may be made the adopted cry at the election, and which can only operate against the present members.³⁴

He hoped that the ministers would find some way to compose the Yorkshire divisions and secure the withdrawal of Savile. But all sides were deeply committed by this time, and the Pelhams had to exercise the greatest caution.

Newcastle found himself in a characteristic difficulty. Having ties with all three interests and little room for manoeuvre, he had to fall back on ineffectual expressions of regret over the disagreements among his Yorkshire friends. He wrote to Irwin in June :

I have long lamented the appearance of disagreement amongst our friends in Yorkshire, and have everywhere expressed my concern at it. But as I had neither authority from any of the candidates, nor indeed till I had your Lordship's letter, have I had the honour of anything upon the subject from Yorkshire, it would have been as impudent as, I am afraid, ineffectual, if I had presumed to have meddled. . . . The only hopes I have are from the weight and influence of your Lordship and the other great interests in Yorkshire; who, perhaps may strike out something at the meeting, which may reconcile things for this time. Your Lordship judges extremely right that the Tories will take advantage from our divisions, and what immediate effect that

may have nobody can tell; But that which must happen, if the contest goes on, which in my opinion is worst of all, is a coolness and disunion between the greatest and most considerable friends to the King, and his government, in the first and most zealous county in England. . . I have however indulged myself in lamenting . . . what is not in my power to cure. I honour, love and esteem the three supposed candidates; and more deserving men there cannot be . . . and I wish they could all be chose . . .³⁵

In private, the Duke and his brother devoutly hoped for Savile's withdrawal. Pelham was taking the waters at Scarborough as the dispute came to a climax in July; he was often in the company of anti-Rockinghamites, and decidedly for the present members.³⁶ Savile's application for Newcastle's support is dated some three weeks before the July meeting, and it looks as though he received no definite reply; in any case he wrote to Rockingham at about this time: 'the Pelhams are against us.'³⁷

The Pelhams' concern for the credit of the ministry in the greatest constituency in the kingdom was shared by the King himself. His interest in the course of events was described by Rockingham's brother-in-law Earl Fitzwilliam in a letter of July:

I am this moment come from the King who has been talking to me about the Yorkshire election. . . . He is as anxious about it as about the election of a King of the Romans, and as solicitous for peace and unanimity as it is possible. He takes great part in and about it, and says he is much afraid the Whigs by being divided amongst themselves will ruin that interest . . . You can have no conception how earnest he is about this affair and how much he interests himself in it. I can't conceive he could be more earnest about the Westminster election.³⁸

The long awaited meeting was held at the York Assembly Rooms, coinciding with Race Week in the middle of July, Holderness describing it as 'the most numerous that had ever been held upon the like occasion.' More than a hundred and fifty were present, including twenty or more of the greatest proprietors; others were represented by their agents, and there were many gentry and clergy.³⁹ The present members were proposed by commoners from the North and East Ridings, and then Rockingham spoke. He paid the usual tribute to the virtues of peace in the county, conceding that 'every contest is disagreeable.' Still, the rich and populous part where he resided was unanimous for his friend who was young and in every way a desirable candidate, and, he con-

tinued : 'the view I find in all my neighbourhood is that if Sir George is not a member there must be a contest.' Rockingham stated his preference for a Savile-Downe combination, saying that if they were returned there would never be another contest. He probably strengthened prejudices against himself as being 'too young to be at the head of the county' by reflections on D'Arcy's age. He remarked that the North Riding member had a borough to retire to, and 'had not thought of the county at a time of life when it is usual to be pleased with such distinctions.'⁴⁰ Savile also spoke, but despite their efforts there was a considerable majority against them in a meeting attended by an unusually large number of great proprietors and well prepared for by the established interests.⁴¹ The two young men finally agreed to withdraw Savile's candidature after a compromise suggested by Lord Northumberland, Sir Rowland Winn and a few other leaders. By the terms of this, Savile was to be supported by D'Arcy's friends at a future vacancy.⁴² Rockingham was greatly disappointed, and after an incident in which he accused Holderness of a breach of faith over the publication of the proceedings in the York press, he thought of 'declaring the contract void', a course which would have met with considerable support, for there were various independents at the meeting who had declared they would not be bound by a compromise; and there were no doubt many more of the same mind who had not attended at York.⁴³ More cautious advice in the end prevailed, notably that of Rockingham's uncle, William Murray, the Solicitor-General; and the young nobleman accepted his defeat.

The standpoint of Murray's advice to his nephew was that of the court politician. Brought into parliament for one of Newcastle's Yorkshire boroughs, he owed his advancement to the Duke and had served him and his brother in the past as a careful and influential intermediary in their relations with the Rockingham family and Yorkshire affairs.⁴⁴ The first Marquess had made Murray a trustee under his will; he consulted him on his son's future, and shortly before his death had placed his family under his protection. Murray disdained the county 'scrapes' in which his nephew had involved himself, and advised him to get out of them with as good grace as he could. He warned the young man against allowing a 'low' provincial contest with Lord Holderness to become the sole object of his ambitions;

'Don't look upon the county of York as your only scene of action. You are born I hope to figure in a larger and nobler sphere.'⁴⁵ He told him how unwise he had been to place himself at the head of the opposition, which was likely to throw many of the gentlemen to the Holderness side where the lords had kept in the background. Having taken the step of declaring 'so openly in the country', he had made the further mistake of not also announcing his intentions in town.⁴⁶ It was there where his attention should be fixed. Murray assured his nephew that Newcastle was not unfriendly; nobody had appeared for him at the meeting, and Murray knew that it was 'his positive order to Sir Rowland Winn not to say a syllable in his name.'⁴⁷ Once having engaged himself, Rockingham had worsened the position by withdrawing, and withdrawing on a compromise which might never be kept to by Holderness and his friends. Had he pursued his point, once having so rashly engaged himself, Murray thought that Rockingham would have won the day, for the Holderness interest did not command the weight of metal necessary to face a county contest. Now that the retreat had been made, the Solicitor-General's advice to his nephew was to accept it, and to disregard 'hot advice' which would harm his credit with the King; he could 'set the compromise at nought' by all means, but he should now wait for the occasion when his own weight, his connections and his good relations with the ministers would assure his success.⁴⁸

Murray's appeals to dynastic pride were bound to influence his nephew, and the young man was hardly likely to ignore his uncle's advice about good standing at court, where he held a household appointment. Still, Rockingham's instincts were different from his uncle's. Inheriting a peerage of the first rank, great county honours devolving upon him almost by prescriptive right, and possessed of vast estates already enlarged by his marriage, aristocratic independence was assuredly his. At the same time he was being drawn by his country associations and his challenge to the established interests into some sort of harmony with the opinions and prejudices of many individuals and groups in county politics who were unattracted to the whig system, and whose course in local affairs had therefore never taken them in the direction of the great whig houses which formed the main basis of that system in the country. There was of course the old opposi-

tion among the gentry, that of the 'Tory' families whose lack of enthusiasm for the existing order in church and state was as old as the Hanoverian regime itself. Their disassociation from the connexions which revolved round the great whig magnates in the country had by this time little relation to the old schism of High Church and Low Church, but the name of 'Tory' still attached to many of them; it was 'the Tories', said Newcastle in his lamentations over the Yorkshire disputes of 1753, who would profit from divisions among the whigs. There seemed more than a possibility that the Rockinghamite opposition, if it were pressed, 'would be assisted by the tories'; and it was, according to Murray, the fear of this that helped dissuade Rockingham.⁴⁹ For the past generation or more, and most obviously since the Forty-five, there had been little to distinguish the discontents of the so-called tories from those of assorted dissidents in all sections of local society who were offended in various ways by the system and measures of Walpole and the Pelhams. There was an especially numerous opposition among interests of rising importance in the towns and the manufacturing districts where, until the days of the Rockingham-Savile alliance, the influence of the great whig houses never had strong roots. Political issues of the past decade had done much to generalise discontent. The neglected state of home defences revealed by the Rebellion, the hiring of Hanoverian troops, and the continental policies which had involved the country in an ill-conducted war, a rising debt and an uncertain peace; these questions had aroused widespread ill-feeling. At the same time there were significant stirrings, stronger in Yorkshire than in most places, among certain churchmen and members of dissenting bodies who sought a remedy for national ills in the relaxation of the doctrinal authoritarianism and what they considered the high character of ritual in the established church. All those tendencies were represented among the elements of local society to which Rockingham's interest was drawn, if largely unconsciously on his part, by his role in 1753. Their full effect on the nature of his influence lay still in the future, but there were indications already of their importance. Among the names of his friends at the York meeting were those of families who had long been prominent in opposition to the court whigs of his father's time, 'Tories' such as the Bosvilles and Alansons, and, without giving

them any political label, families such as the Listers, Armytages, and Foljambes of the West Riding.⁵⁰ There were also the 'committees' representative of manufacturing interests in Sheffield and Halifax; their appearing at York was in itself something of a novelty at a county meeting. Such were the country influences together reflecting the opposite standpoint in politics from that represented in the advice which the young Rockingham received from his uncle. It was by the encouragement of his 'country friends', Murray feared, that his nephew would be drawn into a disavowal of his retreat at the York meeting.⁵¹ Rockingham's personal connections in these quarters may have yet been very slight, and it is difficult to say what his own standing was. He had already, perhaps in merely a tactical way, done something to establish a reputation for serving the interests of the county in associating himself with its woollen interests in their disputes with growers; an issue which had arisen shortly after he took his seat in the Lords, but this was of relatively little importance.⁵² The significant link between the great aristocratic influence of Wentworth Woodhouse and the assorted 'independents' of the county was the person of his friend Savile, whose reputation, already considerable, was to be of the greatest importance in the growth of popularity which steadily strengthened Rockingham's interest after this initial defeat.

Rockingham soon found consolation for his setback in the county in a notable victory at the end of the year in the city of York, hitherto difficult ground for the great whig interests. One of the York seats had been offered to Savile by his friends in the city after his nomination for the county was withdrawn, and Murray had advised his nephew to bring him in for that constituency or for the Rockingham borough of Higham Ferrars, thus marking him as a Rockingham man. But Savile preferred to wait for the next chance in the county, the only constituency to which his high political principles directed his ambitions. In the end, Sir George Armytage was nominated, and he was elected without a poll as a declared Rockingham candidate; a victory which brought warm congratulations from Newcastle.⁵³ With his own borough of Malton in the North Riding, Rockingham now disposed of three Yorkshire seats, and in subsequent years his influence extended to Hull, Scarborough, and Beverley. But the great test of territorial power was the county, and here, partly

in the orthodox ways of aristocratic influence, his reputation increased. He successfully resisted opposing interests in the affairs of corporations, that of Irwin in Leeds and Downe at Doncaster,⁵⁴ and he secured the election of his candidate for a bailiff of sewers against Irwin, Holderness and other magnates.⁵⁵ His name as an improving landlord and perhaps above all as one of the greatest patrons of the turf multiplied his connections in the county and beyond. At the same time, his influence was kept broadly in step with the significant movements of opinion and feeling in middle eighteenth century politics, and his personal popularity was increased by conciliatory yet effective action as Lord Lieutenant in face of exceptional problems of administration and the maintenance of public order. The broad result was that his interest was strengthened among the 'independents' whose allegiance had been foreshadowed in the divisions of 1753.

The relative calm in national politics after the inconclusive peace of 1748 and the establishment of the Pelhams' domination in the ministry was broken first by Henry Pelham's death in 1754, then by the reopening of war with France. Newcastle's futile diplomacy and a dismal record of indecision and defeat on land and sea brought the administration into the greatest public contempt. The invasion panic in the spring of 1756, the hiring of Hessian and Hanoverian troops, and the series of disasters culminating in the loss of Minorca in the summer aroused public feeling to a pitch unknown since Walpole's day. Discontent among the more responsible elements in the country coincided with outbreaks of rioting by the lower classes against the high prices of provisions, and these disturbances were prolonged nearly until the end of the following year by popular opposition to the new militia proposals. Rockingham's influence, like that of great magnates everywhere, was deeply involved in these events. As Lord Lieutenant he was responsible for compliance with the ministry's request for recruits and for the maintenance of public order, while his political associations in the country gave him the closest links with the strong movements of opinion flowing against the ministers and their measures.

The national and patriotic spirit expressed in the discontents of 1756 centred to a great extent on the demand for an effective militia as the country's best defence against invasion and as the alternative to hated mercenary troops. This demand, written

into the many *Addresses* and *Instructions* sent to members of parliament in the autumn of 1756, had been rising for some years among Yorkshire gentry and had already exercised some influence on the growth of Rockingham's interest. His friend Savile was closely connected with the movement, and some of its prominent advocates were among the independents who supported his candidature in 1753. The militia question had a long history going back to the constitutional struggles of the last century, but it had seldom attained the importance which it occupied in politics in the decade before the passing of Pitt's Act in 1757. The mid-century output of tract literature on the subject began before the fall of Walpole when the opposition's criticism of foreign policy and their periodic votes against the supplies stirred the national prejudice against standing armies. Popular aversion to the employment of British forces in support of the large dynastic schemes of Carteret and the dislike of Hanoverian troops in English pay directed attention to the virtues of a militia. The defenceless state of the country in face of the threatened invasion from the north in the autumn of 1745 seemed a conclusive argument for the re-establishment of a system of home defence which the crisis had shown to be moribund in many parts of the country. From the time the volunteer companies were established in Yorkshire during the Rebellion, the movement for the revival of the militia began. Many of the gentry, though co-operating in the Yorkshire Association, had no liking for the wide powers conferred upon the Lords Lieutenant by the special commissions, and they wanted a remodelled militia organisation which, among other objects, would secure them a larger measure of control.⁵⁶ William Thornton of Cattal was the principal figure in the movement. Thornton led a volunteer company to Scotland and took part in action at Falkirk, the fame of his exploits helping to secure his election for the city of York in conjunction with a 'Tory' in 1747. Supported by Edwin Lascelles and Oglethorpe, Thornton introduced a Militia bill early in 1752, but the measure did not get beyond the committee stage, and its author turned to the task of recommending his ideas in the country. His tract, *The Counterpoise*, though giving a characteristically unhistorical account of the institution, provides a good summary of the principles of a militia which became the first article in the creed of many country gentlemen and other independents. His proposed

system would safeguard constitutional liberty by acting as a 'counterpoise' to the standing army; it would enable the regular establishment to be reduced to the small numbers necessary only for the defence of overseas garrisons, and this would in turn make possible a reduction of the land tax and the national debt. Among other advantages, the martial training of gentlemen and others would rescue the nation from the dangers of effeminacy, and equal participation in a patriotic institution would help to promote the dissolution of 'parties'.⁵⁷ No great ministerial efforts had been necessary to defeat Thornton's proposals, but the ministers were ready to resist such schemes as part of the political stock-in-trade of an opposition which was always ready to damn continental policies and vote against the supplies for the military establishment. But the demand for a militia increased, especially with the renewal of the French danger in the next few years, and the ministers had to secure the rejection of the more strongly supported the Pitt-Townshend bill in the House of Lords in 1756. This step, followed only a few months later by panic at Westminster over the supposed danger of invasion, was an important item in the account of ministerial unpopularity.

The ministers preferred to rely on raising new recruits and regiments on the regular establishment rather than meet demands for a militia, and they appealed to Lords Lieutenant to promote recruiting when the French danger threatened in May 1756. In Yorkshire, Rockingham and his friends, including Savile, helped to raise men in Hull and the West Riding towns, but the ministry's employment of some of these recruits aroused great dissatisfaction and directly involved the good faith and popularity of the Yorkshire magnate and his associates. It appears to have been understood in the country, and not denied by the administration, that this enlistment was only for the purpose of home defence—a central militia principle; but some of the men were embodied in regular units and sent to fight in America, a step which caused the greatest offence and in particular brought spirited criticism from Savile. His letter to Rockingham complaining of the bad faith of the ministers no doubt reflected the feelings of all who had taken part in the raising of the men; the gentlemen had been used merely as recruiting sergeants, to the damage of their credit with tenants, respectable farmers and others who had responded to their appeals and financial inducements. Rockingham was

hardly likely to forget a complaint which, for Savile, ran into an unusually large number of pages, and which was of the greatest importance in relation to his popularity in the county.⁵⁸ On a future occasion he was careful to give the then newly-organised militia priority over the ministers' requests for raising regulars in the county.⁵⁹

Savile's letter was written in the autumn of 1756, not long before the county meeting at York in October when the *Clergy, Gentry and Freeholders* added their expressions of discontent to those flowing in to members of parliament all over the land. The *Instructions* addressed from this meeting to Sir Conyers D'Arcy and Lord Downe, ending with a demand for a constitutional militia, covered the whole field of discontents raised in the country by the disasters of the war and the other evils attributed to the Newcastle administration, which the Duke was now trying to save by negotiations with Pitt. The meeting looked forward to a session 'of much business and reformation' in response to the necessities of the times and the 'seasonable expostulations of the people'. The members for a county which had been 'the leader in a late season of danger' were instructed to oppose further employment of foreign mercenaries, to secure the reduction of the national debt, to share 'our spoils', if they must be shared, with America rather than 'ungrateful Germany', and to promote enquiry into the recent losses in the Mediterranean which had deprived trade of its protection. They were exhorted to be 'good counsellors of Royalty' against 'self-designing men, prodigal spenders of our patrimony'. The *Instructions* hinted at the late rejection of the Pitt-Townshend Militia bill by the Lords, and affirmed that the 'lesser' should give way to the 'greater' estate. They hoped for an endeavour in the coming session not only 'to produce a change of men but of morals and measures'; and the reforms for which they hoped included the abolition of gambling and gaming, occupations which made for 'servile dependence and attachment to foreign and pernicious systems'.⁶⁰

This intermingling of demands for moral reformation with those of a more distinctly political character reflects the influence in this movement of the tendencies associated with 'philanthropy' and reforming religion, tendencies represented perhaps more strongly in Yorkshire than in many other places. There is interesting evidence of this combination of forces and motives in

Savile's own region of Halifax where, probably under his direct influence, the demand for militia was associated with 'union' among gentry, liberal-minded clergy and other independents of a remote district, often styled disaffected or 'Jacobite' by time-serving whig parsons in a not very distant past. At the beginning of the Seven Years War the *Union Club* was formed there under Savile's presidency, and was subsequently styled 'a congress of parties, in order to sacrifice all to the good of the state . . .'.⁶¹ In the nearby, and in some respects not dissimilar, district of Craven, Savile's influence can be seen at work in the same direction. Writing to Rockingham of the discontents of those who had long been denied any share in local administration and justice, he told him about 'the unprecedented behaviour of the two whig justices, 'the only two they had'; and he urged that others should be appointed in the commission. 'I am', he wrote, 'very sensible (that) objections may be raised, but upon a narrow, I hope a very narrow, foundation, crumbling I trust every day into ruin, and . . . if there be a district where antique prejudices have worn off slower than one could have wished, surely the best way of finishing the work is hastening to let them partake of the good influence of the government they live under, of which they have long been deprived'.⁶²

Savile's influence was of the highest importance in the development of Rockingham's interest, but Rockingham made his own distinctive contribution in these years to the rising popularity of his authority in the county, not least by the characteristic moderation that in part accounted for his success in dealing with the widespread disturbances of the period. High corn prices which provoked rioting in 1756, coincided in 1757 with popular disapproval of Pitt's Militia Act, a measure which while broadly fulfilling many expectations of the gentry, excited the distrust of lower elements. They disliked a change that transferred to the community the financial burden of a service which under the old and derelict system had been assessed upon the owners of land who had to supply foot or horse soldiers according to the value of their property. There was a cry of 'no militia but on the old plan' which conformed to the principle acceptable to the lower orders, that of 'property to be maintained by property and not by the poor'. Many other motives and not a few misunderstandings of the Act entered into the discontent: dislike of the provision

that men might be drafted out of the county in time of invasion or insurrection, the low rate of pay, and perhaps most important the fears recently aroused that militia forces might be embodied in the army and brought under martial law. In September 1757 there was the most widespread, organised and persistent rioting from the time the militia lists were due to be delivered to the constables in the wapentakes, and especially in the East Riding a total collapse of the authority of the Lord Lieutenant and the justices.⁶³ Rockingham had set an example by quieting the disturbances of the previous year in Sheffield without the use of troops,⁶⁴ and he now earned a reputation in the county and in London by the firmness and moderation of the measures he himself took and also enjoined upon deputies and city authorities.⁶⁵ The disturbances were over by the end of the year, and within a short time three regiments of militia were raised, under the command of Savile, Thornton, and Downe.

The effect of these events on politics would be impossible to assess in any precise way, but the clear result was the advancement of Rockinghamite influence and popularity. Rockingham maintained and strengthened his hold on the city of York in 1758 when, on the death of Sir George Armytage, his friend William Thornton was elected. Thornton had in the past resented the West Riding magnate's growing power in the City, but he was now reconciled, probably by Rockingham's connection with the militia. After having retired from parliament in 1753 he now returned to represent the city as a Rockingham candidate.⁶⁶ This was the forerunner of success in the county a few weeks later. Sir Conyers D'Arcy died in December 1758, Savile being now virtually assured of the succession. There was no hint of difficulty in the way of his nomination except for a tentative offer from Charles Turner of the North Riding, but there too Savile was promised strong support and the challenge came to nothing. Parts of the North were Holderness's domain, but that Lord wrote to his friends, not without some trace of regret, that he would abide by the undertaking of 1753. In any case, there was Newcastle's influence to restrain him. The equivocal attitude of the Pelhams in 1753 was a difficulty long since passed. With the news of the vacancy 'my party was taken', Newcastle told Rockingham, 'and it always will be where you are concerned'. The Duke wrote Holderness urging that all should join and

'declare for Sir George Savile';⁶⁷ and Savile was returned in January 'with as much general satisfaction as any member was ever chose for this county'.

The general election of 1761 brought a further Rockingham victory and finally secured the pre-eminent influence he was to enjoy for the rest of his life. Savile's re-election was not in doubt; 'he is the idol of the county', wrote one of Rockingham's friends, 'and after him almost everyone will take the fire'.⁶⁸ The other seat had been left vacant on Lord Downe's death in December 1760, though no writ was issued until the general election of January 1761, when two candidates appeared. Charles Turner again came forward, and was soon challenged by Edwin Lascelles of Harewood. Rockingham's position and prestige called for his intervention on one side or other, though care had to be taken to avoid the charge levelled against him in 1753 that he was giving himself 'the air of nominating'. But his friends canvassed for Lascelles whose interest by the time of the York meeting on the 19th January, was seen to be very great, amounting in the West Riding, according to Rockingham, almost to unanimity.⁶⁹ Lascelles appears already to have established something of the great influence among the merchants of Leeds and other towns of the manufacturing districts which his family was to enjoy for a great many years. His victory, and Turner's withdrawal, was finally brought about at the meeting when Rockingham and Savile declared for him as the candidate having the greater support.⁷⁰ Newcastle was especially relieved by the result, for he had not at first felt sure of the wisdom of Rockingham's tactics.⁷¹ The first clouds on the Duke's horizon in the new reign had already appeared with certain removals from court, including Rockingham's uncle Henry Finch, and 'the introduction of six Tory Lords and Grooms, and no notice to any of us . . .'.⁷² In these circumstances, the Duke feared more than usual the possibility of a contest in Yorkshire, and was greatly relieved by the news of the Rockingham-Lascelles victory, writing enthusiastically: "Your Lordship's credit in the first and most considerable county in all the King's dominions seems now to be fixed beyond dispute".⁷³ Rockingham regarded the result as proof especially of his influence among the gentlemen of the county, an achievement dwelt upon in somewhat fulsome letters from the ladies of his family.⁷⁴ His sister Mary wrote: "'tis

impossible I think for the future anyone can ever pretend to doubt of your being tolerably well with the *Gentlemen* of the county, tho' the great and mighty Lords chuse to browbeat you . . .';⁷⁵ and Charlotte rejoiced that 'The D'Arcy interest, the Howard, the Ingram all against you, and altogether not making it possible to admit of a dispute'. She added: 'I will make the observation and Lord Mansfield (Rockingham's uncle, formerly William Murray) shall hear of it, and so shall everybody that ever presumed to say Sir George and you would have been baffled had you kept to the point seven years ago'.⁷⁶ All this was partly true, but there was some exaggeration in his sisters' praise. The Rockingham-Lascelles side would have called on the aid of many great interests had it come to a contest,⁷⁷ and while they had many of the gentry, they did not have them all, especially in the North Riding, where Turner's following was considerable. Turner's support at the York meeting came partly from the aristocratic interests in opposition to Rockingham, especially that of Holderness.⁷⁸ The protege of Newcastle, then a follower of Pitt, and now of Bute, Holderness associated the Yorkshire opposition under Turner with the 'Tory' principles represented by Bute's ascendancy at court. But Turner's following also included country tories—gentry and others who responded to the cry for 'freedom and independency' and the denial of a great Lord's right to interfere in elections.⁷⁹ Rockingham tried to turn this argument by the retort that professions of independency came strangely from a candidate who was supported by a Secretary of state. Still, the 'tory' opposition of 1761 was a foretaste of future difficulties. Rockingham had secured his dominating position in the county, partly, it has been shown, by association with independent elements in politics. This gave his interest a different flavour from that of the whigs of his father's day and of Newcastle's prime, a difference which could be seen in a wider sphere a few years later when his natural allies in parliamentary politics were to be men like the tory country gentleman Dowdeswell, his Chancellor of the Exchequer. At the same time, the cry of 'independency' raised by Turner's agents in 1761 is a caution against taking the contrast too far. Rockingham's politics were still those of aristocratic whiggism; and if the cry of independency availed little against that creed in 1761, it was to be there at its eclipse a quarter of a century later.

NOTES

¹ *The Yorkshire Election of 1734*, C. Collyer, *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical Society (Literary and Historical Section)*, Vol. VII, Part 1, Pages 53-82, July, 1952.

The Yorkshire Election of 1741, C. Collyer, *ibid.* Vol. VII, Part 2, Pages 137-152, Oct. 1953.

² This was in south Yorkshire; where the home estate of Wentworth is situated, in the North Riding, Northamptonshire, and Ireland. The younger Rockingham's marriage to Mary Bright added new lands in the Sheffield region.

³ The significance of his adhesion to the county whigs is remarked upon in: *Archbishop of York to the Earl of Carlisle*, 6th February, 1726/7, (Castle Howard MSS.). See also *Edwin Lascelles to Rockingham*, 12th January, 1763, in which the first Marquess is said to have changed 'the complexion and politics of this county.' (Wentworth MSS.).

⁴ One of his strongest complaints was made over 'the obstruction to Mr. Jeremiah Harrison's being presented to the living of Catterick' in 1748: *Rockingham to Newcastle*, 21st May, 1748 (Wentworth MSS.). In applications on behalf of relations, he pressed his claims on Walpole if he had not met with success from Newcastle: see, for instance: *Malton to Walpole*, 10th December, 1737, and 7th October, 1738, (Wentworth MSS.). In disappointment over the failure of applications on behalf of his friend and Irish agent the Rev. Dr. Griffiths, he wrote to Lady Isabella Finch: '... I shall ever hold to my principles, but the vigorous exerting them must depend upon the regard set upon actions.' He was influenced also at this time by the failure of the ministers to give strong support to the petition following the 1734 election: *Malton to Lady Isabella Finch*, 1st October, 1737 (Wentworth MSS.).

⁵ Irwin's nominees were appointed to the Post-Mastership of Bradford in 1746 and 1752. His letters on this subject give some indications of his interest there and at Leeds: *Irwin to Newcastle*, 13th November, 1746, (Add. MSS. 32,709:234), and 28th March, 1752, (Add. MSS. 32,726:328), *Newcastle to Irwin*, 28th March 1752 (Add. MSS. 32,726:354). For Irwin's Leeds interest, see correspondence about the appointment of the Town Clerk and the related divisions in the Corporation, *Irwin to Newcastle*, 9th November, 1752 (Add. MSS. 32,730:230/232), 5th December, 1752 (Add. MSS. 32,730:353/354), 9th May, 1753 (Add. MSS. 32,731:428). For the petition of the Mayor and Recorder on this subject see *Thos. Micklenthwait and Recorder Wilson to Newcastle*, 16th December 1752 (Add. MSS. 32,730:393/394). In a further letter to Newcastle, Irwin appears as the spokesman of Leeds merchants, see *Irwin to Newcastle*, 28th April, 1756 (Add. MSS. 32,864:419).

For the political characteristics of the clothiers country to the west of Leeds, see *The Yorkshire Election of 1741*, p.146, Savile's influence in this region brought it within Rockingham's interest after the middle of the century.

⁶ See *Yorkshire and the Forty-Five*, C. Collyer, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, Part 149*, pp.71-95, (1952).

⁷ See for instance a letter from Lady Isabella Finch: 'There was a most numerous appearance of all sorts of people yesterday at court, and my friend Allesbury went through the whole day's ceremony; I left him in the ballroom, (and) therefore hope, hereafter, you'll believe my character of people. He is of your Lordship's mind as to calling home all the troops, but wishes just at this time his friends . . . would make no bustle. As soon as the Rebellion is over, he will return, take my word, to oppose H(anoverian) schemes, as he stiles 'em. However . . . the creature is a true Englishman . . . Lady Isabella Finch to Malton, 31st October, 1745 (Wentworth MSS.).

⁸ Fitzwilliam to Malton, 12th November, 1745 (Wentworth MSS.).

⁹ Newcastle to Malton, 13th December, 1745 (State Papers Domestic, 36.77:10), and 14th December, '45, (Wentworth MSS.). Malton to Newcastle 21st December, '45, Memorandum entitled: *The Earl of Malton's scheme for recruiting General Wade's army*, 22nd. Dec. 45., Malton to Archbishop of York, 23rd December, '45. Malton to Newcastle, 1st January, '45/6, (Wentworth MSS.).

¹⁰ Malton to Dr. Griffiths, 11th February, 1745/6.

¹¹ Herring to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, 24th May, 1746; see also his letter to Hardwicke of 30th April, 46, (Add. MSS. 35 598: 211 and 208).

¹² Turner to Newcastle, 13th June, 1747, (Add. MSS. 32, 711:338).

¹³ Winn to Rockingham, 1st July, 1747, (Wentworth MSS.). An earlier letter of Winn's throws some light on the reason for his refusal: 'I hope your Lordship will excuse my troubling you about whig and tory affairs, as it may be the last time, as I had the honour to acquaint you when I was at Wentworth that if my brother is not made an equerry to the King, or had a company given him in the Guards, I would never interfere now in things of that sort, and absolutely give up the little share I have had in it . . .' letter of 26th December, 1746 (Wentworth MSS.).

¹⁴ Turner's letter to Newcastle cited above. Turner appears to have held no correspondence with Rockingham on the subject.

¹⁵ *York Courant*, 7th and 14th July, 1747.

¹⁶ Rockingham to Newcastle, 21st May, 1748. The incident which called forth this complaint can be followed in Newcastle to Winn, 14th May, Winn to Rockingham 18th May, and Rev. J. Harrison to Rockingham, 31st May, 1748 (Wentworth MSS.).

¹⁷ This is inferred from his moderate attitude at the time of the Yorkshire bye-election in 1742, when he broke with the Ailesbury section of the opposition; Pulteney also taking sides against them, see W. Wrightson to John Stanhope, 19th December, 1741 (Spencer Stanhope MSS.).

¹⁸ Herring to Hardwicke, 22nd June, 1747 (Add. MSS. 35,598:252/253). There is further indication of a long-matured scheme in Lady Charlotte Wentworth to the young Earl of Malton, 16th June, 1747 (Wentworth MSS.).

¹⁹ Stapylton to Rockingham, 10th July, and Rockingham to Stapylton, 13th July 1747 (Wentworth MSS.).

²⁰ Henry Pelham to Rockingham, 25th Nov. 1749, (Wentworth MSS.).

²¹ Rockingham to Pelham, 2nd Dec. 1749, (Wentworth MSS.).

²² Rockingham to Newcastle, 19th November, 1750, Newcastle to Rockingham, 1st December, 5th December, 1750, (Wentworth MSS.).

²³ Earl of Malton to Rockingham, 15th September and 30th October, 1750, (Wentworth MSS.).

²⁴ Rockingham to Malton, 30 June, 1750 (Wentworth MSS.). The details of this affair of the young man's correspondents are not clear, but there are remarks in a letter of Rockingham's brother-in-law Henry Finch, whom he consulted on the subject, which may refer to the Pelhams: Finch wrote of people who thrust themselves into everybody's affairs, and continued; 'Tis upon that principle he and his brother have always gone; they are to govern, they are to direct, they are such awkward Match-alevels in both publick and private life that their scheme are so easily seen through . . . H. Finch to Rockingham, 26th June, 1750. Rockingham replied expressing sorrowful agreement, see Rockingham to Finch, 30th June, 1750, (Wentworth MSS.).

²⁵ The document is in the Wentworth mss.

²⁶ *Leeds Mercury*, 21st May, 1751.

²⁷ It may be noted that Newcastle received other applications very soon after the first Marquess's death, Downe asked for the Lord Lieutenancy of the West Riding; Downe to Newcastle 20th December, 1750 (Add. MSS. 32,723:405), and Holdernes asked for the North Riding office; see his letter to Newcastle from the Hague, 8th January, 1751, (Add. MSS. 32,723:447); Rockingham later recalled that this office was 'once attempted to be divided from me.' Rockingham to Newcastle, 8th January, 1761, (Add. MSS. 32, 719:187).

²⁸ Newcastle to Rockingham, 20th Dec. 1750, (Add. MSS. 32, 723:397).

²⁹ Savile to Rockingham, n.d. (Wentworth MSS.).

³⁰ Dowager Marchioness of Rockingham to Rockingham, 12th July 1753, (Wentworth MSS.).

³¹ Henry Pelham to Newcastle, 18th July, 1753, (Add. MSS. 32,732:301).

³² Jacques Sterne to Irwin, 9th June, 1753, (Temple Newsam MSS.).

³³ The disposition of great interests is discussed in Holdernes to Irwin, 9th May, 1753, (Temple Newsam MSS.). Dan Draper to Irwin 9th June, (Temple Newsam MSS.), Irwin to Newcastle, 27 June (Add. MSS. 32,732:111/112), A. Wilkinson to Newcastle, 13th July (Add. MSS. 32,732:236), while lists of those at the meeting with some indication of their votes, are given in Wilkinson to Newcastle, 16th July and 19th July, (Add. MSS. 32, 732:282 et seq., and 32, 732:313/321).

³⁴ Irwin to Newcastle, 27th June, 1753 (Add. MSS. 32,732:111/112).

³⁵ Newcastle to Irwin 3rd. July, 1753. (Add. MSS. 32,732:158).

³⁶ See for instance Pelham to Newcastle, 13th July, 1753, (Add. MSS. 32,732:225).

³⁷ Savile to Newcastle, 22nd June, 1753, (Add. MSS. 32, 732:84). Savile to Rockingham, n.d. (Wentworth MSS.).

³⁸ Fitzwilliam to Lady Fitzwilliam, dated from Kensington Palace, 17th July 1753 (Fitzwilliam MSS.).

³⁹ Wilkinson's lists cited above at note 33.

⁴⁰ There is a rough draft of the speech in Rockingham's hand in the Wentworth papers.

⁴¹ According to Wilkinson's lists, Savile had thirty-five of the hundred and fifty present at the meeting.

⁴² Accounts of the compromise are given in Holdernes to Newcastle, 16th July, 1753, (Add. MSS. 32, 732:280), and by Pelham to Newcastle, 18th July, (Add. MSS. 32, 732:301/2).

⁴³ Rockingham to Savile, 18th July, 1753, (Wentworth MSS.). See also the disposition of Caesar Ward, editor of the *York Courant* 'relative to the general election of 1753 . . .' (Wentworth MSS.). Pelham reported that 'the Torys and Will Turner would make no promises,' see Pelham to Newcastle, 18th July cited above. Edwin Lascelles published his dissent from the compromise, see 'A copy of the advertisement published at York,' in Add. MSS. 32, 732:315).

⁴⁴ Murray looked after Rockingham's financial affairs after 1748. He was used by the Pelhams to further the project of Downe's candidature in 1749, see Murray to Rockingham, 25th November, 1749, (Wentworth MSS.).

⁴⁵ Murray to Rockingham, 2nd, 4th and 17th August, 1753. (Wentworth MSS.).

⁴⁶ Murray to Rockingham, 24th July, 1753. (Wentworth MSS.).

⁴⁷ Murray to Rockingham, 4th August, 1753. (Wentworth MSS.).

⁴⁸ Murray to Rockingham, 2nd and 4th August. (Wentworth MSS.).

⁴⁹ Murray wrote that Rockingham 'saw people growing so warm that he did not know what lengths they might go to, and was afraid of being assisted by the Torys.' Murray to Newcastle, 13th September, 1753. (Add. MSS. 32, 732:645).

⁵⁰ Wilkinson's lists above cited, note 33. A comparison of names has been made with those in lists of opposition leaders in 1742.

⁵¹ Murray to Rockingham, 24th July, 1753, and 4th August, 1753. (Wentworth MSS.)

⁵² For Rockingham's association with the case of the manufacturers see G. H. Guttridge, *The Early career of Lord Rockingham* in University of California Publications in History, Vol. 44, (1952) p.11, and the papers cited therein. See also Murray to Rockingham, 21st July, 1752, and 4th August, 1752. (Wentworth MSS.). The issue was that of the marking of fleeces with tar, a practice which the manufacturers opposed.

⁵³ Newcastle to Rockingham, 6th Dec. 1753. (Add MSS. 32, 733:375).

⁵⁴ Rockingham's friends in the Corporation, including the Mayor and Recorder, secured the election of their nominee as Town Clerk, against Irwin's wishes, see letters cited in note 5. Thomas Barstow was elected. For the Doncaster affair see letters on 'Holmes Election', (Wentworth MSS.) A letter of Richard Fenton to Lady Rockingham gives news of 'my Lord's' victory; it is undated.

⁵⁵ For the affair of the election of a bailiff of sewers, see Rockingham to Newcastle, 25th Sept., 1754. (Add. MSS. 32, 736:577/8.)

⁵⁶ See *The Counterpoise: being thoughts on a Militia and a Standing Army*, by William Thornton, 2nd Edition, (London, 1753) p.58.

⁵⁷ Ibid. Preface, p.2; a well regulated militia would 'be a principal means of extinguishing all party distinctions.'

⁵⁸ Savile to Rockingham, 9th Sept. 1756. (Wentworth MSS.)

⁵⁹ See Guttridge, op. cit. p19.

⁶⁰ For the full *Instructions* see *The Public Advertiser*, 27th October, 1756.

⁶¹ Letter of W—y Midgley to the printer of the *Halifax Union Journal*, 27th March, 1759. For a critical opinion of the politics of the inhabitants of this district see for instance John Roberts to Newcastle, 2 January, 1753 (Add. MSS. 32, 734:11).

⁶² Savile to Rockingham, 28th Dec. 1759. (Wentworth MSS.)

⁶³ See Stephen Croft to Rockingham, n.d., for the rioters complaints about the militia proposals. For accounts of Yorkshire disturbances see Irwin to Newcastle, 15th Sept. 1757. (Add. MSS. 32, 874:61), Lord Mayor of York to Newcastle, 15th Sept. 1757, (Add. MSS. 32, 874:56). Rockingham criticised his fellow Lord Lieutenant Irwin in the East Riding, see for instance, Rockingham to the Recorder of York, n.d. (Wentworth MSS.)

⁶⁴ The riots of August 1756 in Sheffield appear to have been particularly serious, a pitched battle taking place between the 'town party' wearing 'white cockades' and the rioters. See *The Public Advertiser*, 1st Sept., 1756.

⁶⁵ Barrington, Secretary at War, to Rockingham, 31st August, 6th Sept. 1756 (Wentworth MSS.) Newcastle to Rockingham, 27th Sept. 1757, (Add. MSS. 32, 874:327/8). Murray wrote: 'I want you to exert yourself so as may in a manner demand the Garter,' Murray to Rockingham, 27th Sept. 1757, (Wentworth MSS.)

⁶⁶ He was still at odds with Rockingham in 1757, resenting the activities of the Rockingham Club in the City, but conciliatory letters from Rockingham, and, as is suggested, the common ground of the militia issue, healed the breach.

⁶⁷ Holderness to J. Hutton, 3rd Dec. 1758. (D'Arcy Hutton MSS.). Newcastle to Rockingham, 7th Dec. 58, (Wentworth MSS.). Newcastle to Rockingham, 23rd Dec. 58, (Add. MSS. 32, 886:448), and Newcastle to Savile, 23rd Dec. 58, (Add. MSS. 32, 886:450).

Savile and Rockingham undertook little canvassing, so as not to arouse any opposition, see Savile to Rockingham, 22nd Dec. 58, (Wentworth MSS.).

⁶⁸ Will. Green to Rockingham, 15th Jan. 1760, (Wentworth MSS.)

⁶⁹ Rockingham to Newcastle, 14th Jan. 1761, (Add. MSS. 32, 917:313/314).

⁷⁰ Rockingham to Newcastle, n.d. Probably 19th Jan. 1761, (Add. MSS. 32, 917:449/450).

⁷¹ Newcastle to Duke of Leeds, 6th Jan. 1761. (Add. MSS. 32, 917:151).

⁷² Newcastle to Rockingham, 22nd Dec. 1760, (Add. MSS. 32, 916/222).

⁷³ Newcastle to Rockingham, 21st Jan. 1761, (Add. MSS. 32, 917:465).

⁷⁴ Rockingham to Newcastle, n.d. Probably 19th Jan. 1761, (Add. MSS. 32, 917:449/450).

⁷⁵ Mary Wentworth to Rockingham, 27th Jan. 1761. (Wentworth MSS.)

⁷⁶ Charlotte Wentworth to Rockingham, n.d. (Wentworth MSS.)

⁷⁷ Lascelles indeed wrote to Rockingham as soon as Turner had declared his candidature: 'Charles Turner talks big, but I always thought he would decline when he found the *great interests* against him. Lascelles to Rockingham, 22nd December, 1760, (Wentworth MSS.) (My italics).

⁷⁸ Holderness made a special journey from town to support him at the meeting. Carlisle and Irwin were also for Turner.

⁷⁹ Will Green to Rockingham, Jan. 15, 1761, (Wentworth MSS.)

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Two notes on the history of the Aire and Calder Navigation

By G. RAMSDEN, B.A.

I.

THE RENT OF CRYER CUT

A close study of the records of the Aire and Calder Navigation reveals many transactions of interest to the local historian of the West Riding. Noteworthy is the series of references to the Rent of Cryer Cut, extending over a period of 130 years.

The Aire and Calder Navigation was established by an Act of Parliament of 1699, empowering the "Undertakers" (i.e. Proprietors) to make those two rivers navigable for shallow boats between the towns of Leeds and Wakefield, and "a place called Weeland" upon the lower Aire a little above Snaith. One of the principal objects recited in the Preamble was the "advancement of the clothing trade" of the county. There was no intention of constructing throughout the whole line a continuous system of artificial waterways: the aim was rather to improve the existing *natural* channels of the Aire and Calder by scouring their beds, removing sandbanks and shoals, straightening the banks, and building dams and locks so as to permit the deepening and control of the stream. But short canals, or "cuts" as they were usually called, were necessary at certain points in order to by-pass mill-weirs or cut off tortuous or dangerous portions of the natural rivers.

A present-day map of the country to the south-east of Leeds shows a very meandering stretch of the River Aire between the Yorkshire Copper Works and Swillington Bridge. In the eighteenth century the river was even more winding, its approximate course at that time being indicated by the present City boundary in that locality. There were also a number of shoals. In order to facilitate navigation, the Undertakers, about the year 1700, constructed a canal known as Cryer Cut, extending from the great bend a little below the present Copper Works as far as Woodlesford Paper Mill to the west of

Swillington Bridge. The length of the Cut was nearly a mile and a half, and its name was derived from William Cryer, who assisted in its construction and maintenance.

Taking land for cuts, locks and other works, necessitated some form of compensation for the landowners: this often consisted of an annual rent, the land being merely on lease to the Undertakers and not their outright property. The land for Cryer Cut was taken from the Irwin family of Temple Newsam, and was held at first under a five-years lease at the rent of £10 a year. We are able, from two surveys of the Cut made in 1702, to reckon the area of the Cut and the adjoining tow-path at rather less than ten acres. The Irwins would therefore derive an annual income of about twenty shillings per acre from the land surrendered—approximately the same as they would have received if the land had remained under agricultural use.

During the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, with the exception of a very short period, the Navigation and its profits were let out by the Undertakers to "farmers," who paid an annual rent and kept for themselves the rest of the proceeds after meeting expenses. These navigation rents received by the Undertakers rose steadily, by a series of stages, from £800 a year in 1704-5 to £4,400 in 1751-8 and £8,500 in 1772-4, the rising tendency being indicative of an increase in the volume of traffic using the rivers. It may be supposed that the increase in traffic and rents would not pass unnoticed by the landowners whose land, having been taken for the Navigation's works, was contributing to these happy results: some would no doubt feel entitled to an increase in the rents paid by the Undertakers or the Farmers to themselves. It is certain that, by the middle of the century, the Irwins no longer considered £10 a year a satisfactory rent for Cryer Cut.

Among the Aire and Calder papers is a valuable letter from the Lady Dowager Irwin to Richard Wilson, Recorder of Leeds and one of the Trustees of the Navigation, written at Kew on 22 June 1756, in which she alludes to 'the increase in the Undertakers' profit (i.e. the rent paid by the Farmers) and also to the increased annual value of the pasture-land crossed by the Cut: she considers herself entitled to a rent of at least £20 a year. This letter, together with Wilson's reply, we are printing at the end of the present article. The rent eventually decided upon was

£30 a year, as indicated by the following extract from the Minutes of an Undertakers' meeting on 15 November 1756:—

“Order'd. That a Lease be Accepted of Lady Viscountess of Irwin during her Life of Cryer's Cutt at the Rate of 30 £ P Annum.”

The Irwins seem to have been content with this rent for the next forty years. During this time the prosperity of the Navigation continued. The Undertakers took the business into their own hands in 1774: their aggregate revenue almost doubled between 1776 and 1796, and the annual Dividends increased fourfold. Cryer Cut was becoming of immense importance in the economic development of Leeds and its neighbourhood: wool, corn, lime, timber and “colonial goods” passed upwards along it for the supply of the manufacturing district; whilst downwards were conveyed cloth, ironwork and coal. Thomas Fenton began to develop the Rothwell Haigh coalfield about 1760, and towards the end of the century (certainly before 1775) Rothwell Haigh Coal Staith was built on the river-side near the western end of Cryer Cut: the waggon-way or “run” leading to the staith from Low Shops is still visible to-day.

The rent of £30 a year enjoyed by the Irwins for Cryer Cut was more than the agricultural value of the land. This fact is proved by the Haling-paths Inquisition of 1775, from which it is possible to calculate the value of the land adjoining the Cut at about 26s. per acre per year, as compared with the 60s. per acre received by the Irwins. The latter, however, did not remain content with this comparison. At the beginning of 1798 they asked for an increase in the rent. Prolonged negotiations ensued, in which Lady Irwin's Steward demanded £45 a year for the Cut, whilst the Undertakers questioned her legal right to raise the rent. When they made proposals, backed by Counsel's opinion, for vesting the ownership of the Cut permanently in the Navigation, the Steward declined to submit these proposals to her Ladyship, “well knowing that she had a great Dislike to make any Alteration in the Tenure of any Part of the Family Estate.” (July 1799). The Undertakers thereupon informed him that they would pay no more than £30 a year. Her Ladyship refused to accept this amount, but declined to have the rent settled by Commissioners. (July 1800).

How the rent of Cryer Cut progressed during the next few years is not clear; but in 1812 we are informed that it has recently been "fixed" at £90 per annum and that the Undertakers have agreed to pay this amount. No further request for an increase appears to have been made until 1820, when we suddenly find that the Temple Newsam family have enlisted the aid of one of the leading Undertakers, Mr. J. P. Heywood, as their spokesman. At a meeting of the Undertakers on the 10th April of that year, Mr. Heywood produces a letter from Mr. Peacock, the Secretary of Lord Hertford, stating that his Lordship requests Heywood

"to make an application to the present undertakers stating the Offer that has been made and learning from them what increase of rent they are ready to give and if they are not willing to pay what you think a fair increase of Rent to consider the propriety of getting fresh responsible Undertakers, who will be ready to give an advance."

It seems that an offer for the Cut has been made from a rival quarter, and that this offer is being used as a lever for forcing additional rent out of the Undertakers. On 8th June 1821 Mr. Heywood tells a meeting of the Directors of the Navigation that Lord Hertford has authorised him to propose to the Undertakers "that they should hereafter pay an annual Rent of £200 for Cryer Cut." By this time they seem to have become resigned to the necessity of paying an increased rent, for the meeting resolves that the Undertakers

"are ready to comply with the proposed Offer provided it is made a permanent Rent without it being made hereafter subject to any increase or Alteration" ;

but if the Irwin family cannot accede to this, they propose that the Cut should be vested *absolutely* in the Navigation, the latter paying either a gross sum or a fixed annual rent charge for the absolute purchase.

We hear no more about the rent of Cryer Cut until 19th April 1827, when the Minute Books inform us that notice has been given to the Undertakers on behalf of the Marchioness of Hertford to quit the possession of Cryer Cut "next February or at such other time as the current Year therein shall end." On the same day it is reported that a party of workmen under the superintendence of Her Ladyship's and Mr. William Fenton's

agents has recently pulled down a wall at Thwaite Mill (not far from Cryer Cut) and thrown the materials into the river, "in order to assert a right to a Carriage Road across the Undertakers' Land at Thwaites." For the present, the Undertakers preferred to play a waiting game, but on the last day of 1827 the Directors resolved that they were willing to refer the question of the rent of Cryer Cut to Lord Wharncliffe or to any other "indifferent neighbouring Gentleman" or to any eminent Barrister, but wished a definite agreement to be made with Lady Hertford as to the basis of future payments. Entries made in the books in 1828 and 1829 show that an annual rent of £400 was agreed upon—but this was in respect not only of the former ten acres of the Cut but also of an additional ten acres adjoining it, which Lady Hertford now leased to the Undertakers. She was therefore to receive £20 per acre per annum for her land.

In order to estimate the rent which this land would have yielded to the Irwins if it had remained in agriculture, instead of being used for the works of the Navigation, a sample of land in this vicinity has been taken from the Rothwell Township Valuation Book of 1839. This sample, covering 134 acres of agricultural land, had a total estimated annual value of £382—i.e., it would yield a rent of about £2 17s. a year per acre. The Irwins were to receive seven times this amount for Cryer Cut and adjoining land taken by the Undertakers. The latter, however, were in a very prosperous situation and could afford to pay the high rent. Yet they were to some extent *active* creators of their prosperity, whereas the Irwins' function with regard to Cryer Cut was purely *passive*.

In the early 1830's the Aire and Calder Navigation began to carry out a thoroughgoing reconstruction of their system, involving the construction of many miles of new canals and the supersession of portions of the old natural and artificial waterways. The Act enabling them to do this work contained a clause which confirmed the Irwins in their possession of Cryer Cut, a part of which would be required for the new system. It was obviously in the Undertakers' interest to obtain full ownership rights over the Cut, in order to prevent a continuance of the rent-raising process. Prolonged negotiations took place with the Marchioness of Hertford, and at length, in 1833, Cryer Cut and certain other Irwin land became the property of the Navigation. The purchase

had a total area of a little under ninety acres, and the price was £19,300—i.e., at an average rate of £215 an acre, which was very much in excess of the agricultural value of the land and about twice the average price per acre paid by the Undertakers for other land which they bought at that time. It certainly appears that the Irwins were no losers by their ownership of Cryer Cut.

LETTERS

(1) Addressed: "To Lawyer Willson, Leeds."

"Sr

Upon being inform'd you are the chief manager of the navigation affairs relating to the River Aire that comes to Leeds, you have the trouble of this to lay before you ye state of the case of the large cut that runs through one of Ld Irwins best pastures now in my joynter. when that navigation first commenced which is now above fifty Years agoe; the undertakers of the navigation took a lease for Five Years att 10 l. pr annum with a covenant to make good what ever damage the said cut and hawling did to the ground: the profits of ye navigation then did not amount to above 800 l. pr annum, I am inform'd it now brings in 4500 a year: since that time the rent of ye pasture above mention'd has been considerably rais'd, the land lets for 28 s. pr acre the navigation cut and what the hawling destroys amounts to 14 acres for which I have only 10 l. pr annum and if that Land was let as the rest of the Pasture, it woud produce very near 20 l. pr annum: this rent I think in the strictest justice I ought to have: and as I know you have a due regard to equity I recommend it to you to consider ye justice of my demand. one observation I cant help making that ye first & only lease ye managers of ye navigation took was only for 5 years, wch surely implies that tenant or Land Lord was att ye end of that term to come upon new terms: my tenants have often made complaints for the injury the navigation does them particularly for erecting a House for ye Lock-keeper & laying materials upon the ground, but have never met with any consideration, surely I have a right to expect sattisfaction for these damages. I recommend this to your consideration and am Sr

Your

Faithfull Humble

Servant

H. IRWIN."

Kew June ye 22 1756

(2) Willson's Reply.

Leeds Augt ye 11th 1756

"Madam —

I had ye Honr of yr Ladyship's Lr. of ye 22d of June last but could not effectually answer yt till I had communicated to ye Undertakers of ye Navigation of ye Rivers Air c Calder ye contents of it, wch I hop'd to do at a generall meeting of ye Undertakers then propos'd to be shortly had but thro' ye absence of Sr Wm Milner has been postpon'd. I have nevertheless acqted others of ye undertakers with yr Ladyship's Lr. c I find ym dispos'd to comply to yr Ladyships Terms c accept a Lease at ye yearly Rent of 20 1. wch Mr. Sykes who brought mee ye Lr inform'd mee yr Ladyship would Grant to have continuance during yr Interest in ye Estate—I'm sorry yr Ladysp has been troubled with yr Tents Complts. I believe upon enquiry they'll be found but triviall; however I can say yi during 12 yrs last past ye Farmers of ye navigation have been always ready to satisfy for any Damage done to ye grounds they have had occasion to use—The House yr Ladysp mentions to be built is I believe only a small Cottage at ye entrance into ye Cut for ye Lodging a Lock Keeper, c being Built on yr Ladyships Ground is become yr Property altho by ye Building of a strong Carriage Bridge there for ye convenience of ye Temple Newson Estate ye loss seems to have been amply satisfy'd for—would yr Ladyship order a Lease to be made to ye Trustees of ye Navigation for ye Use of ye Undertakers, or they to prepare a Drt of such Lease c lay it before yr Councell?

I am

Madam

Yr Ladyship's

most Obedient

Servt

R. W.

11th Augt 1756
 To ye Rt honble
 The Lady Visctess Dowager Irwin
 at Kew
 near London."

II.

“DAMAGES” ALONG THE RIVERS.

Although the “making navigable” of the rivers Aire and Calder, under the Act of 1699, did not involve such great works of construction as became associated with navigations in the second half of the eighteenth century, yet there is ample evidence that a considerable amount of disturbance took place along the rivers during the early years of that century. Quite a number of people felt themselves injured or inconvenienced through the cutting-down or destruction of trees, the digging of good agricultural land in order to make locks and cuts, the appropriation of other land for haling-ways, the dragging of all sorts of materials in waggons and on sleds across fields and pastures, the stacking of such materials for long periods near the banks of the rivers, the spoiling of crops and herbage, etc. From the letters of complaint which have been preserved it appears that the chief sufferers were the owners and tenants of riverside lands and of the water-mills upon the River Aire (there were nine mills between Leeds and Knottingley). The Undertakers’ activities in rendering the two rivers navigable were not the only causes of complaint: for, as soon as any stretch of waterway had been made open for traffic, the navigating of boats, and the passage of men and horses along the banks and towing-paths, began to constitute a continuing source of irritation and disturbance. We learn of boatmen straying from the towing-paths into adjacent lands, of haling-gates being left open so that grazing stock wandered from their pastures, of herbage and corn crops devoured by haling-animals, of cargoes unshipped and laid on the banks in unauthorised places. In the complaints made to the Undertakers the two sets of grievances—those arising from constructive operations, and those from the commercial use of the waterways—are often merged together. Moreover, requests for compensation are sometimes coupled with requests for payment for various services rendered to the Undertakers.

Below are copies of papers relating to this subject of “damages”, selected from the documents of the Aire and Calder Navigation.

(1) JOSEPH BROMLEY'S REQUEST.

This is written on a tiny scrap of paper, four inches by less than three, which has been torn off a larger sheet, probably a tradesman's bill. The date is 1718—

“Gentle men I have recived damage & doo recive damage upon my bank on the Little grene. I had a good Shaw of wood growing before it and now it is all most destroed by lyng your stones and lime and staithin wood wherby they tread it down that we are forst to make it twise up every yeare soe I hope you will alow me sum damage

and you wll oblige your freind
Joseph Bromley.”

On the reverse side of this note is written :—

“May 21st 1718. Recd. of Wm. Milner One guinea in full for all damages done me to this day to me—

Test
J. Roebuck
J. Burton.”

Joseph Bromley

(2) ANN HICKSON'S COMPLAINT.

Addressed to Mr. Rooke.

“Sr —

Since I see yw have as formerley putt some horses into my ground, butt the yattes being so frequently lefft open 3 of 'em was wanting some days wch After enquiry was found in A Bayliffs hand and I had a 11 shill to pay before I could gett them att liberty besides the mans Charges thatt wentt to look 'em. As for my winters grass I could nott make any thing of itt for itt was eaten by bears thatt come in both att top & bottom. I designe to take outt all the horses on Monday & if some care be nott taken mustt help (?) to sumer ye whaite goods. whatt fences belongs me are as good as is needfull butt whatt is for yr Convenience I desire yw would see thay be made so thatt the ground may be secure'd from trespasses, for am shure since the water works was firstrt begun itt has been 5. L. a year loss to me & tho I have nott been troublesome nor had ye leastt sattisfaction yett I expectt itt, I am so greatt a sufferer thatt I mustt either lett or sell the ground & thinks itt is the fittestt for some of the undertakers whos servants would be more Carful for them then for me. I desire your ready Compliance hearwith wch will Oblige

Sr. your Humble Servant
Ann Hickson.”

Here is clearly a complaint of loss through the negligence and trespasses of the watermen, the sufferer estimating her loss at £5 a year. The Hickson family owned land on the right bank of the River Aire about three miles below Leeds, in the neighbourhood of the present Yorkshire Copper Works—an area which was known as "Hickson's Banks" or "Hixon's Banks" throughout the eighteenth century. The date of Ann Hickson's letter is about 1703.

(3) GEORGE GREENE'S BILL

"A Bill of Damages Sustained by George Greene of Allerton by water from the undertakers of the Rivers Calder and Ayre making Navigable from the beginning.

		£ s. d.
Imprs.	ffor Rutting with Waynes & laying Stones and Sawpitts making upon a piece of Meadow called the 15 Acres att Castleford Lock	1 5 00
	For Severall Trees cutting down att Calder Mouth	0 5 00
Ayre	For Rutting with Carts & laying Lime on a piece of Ground called Allerforth	0 15 00
	Pair for Crooks & loops for haleing gates ...	0 01 00
	For a way for Carts & Carriages over a piece of Meadow in the Erriotts to the Hall Ing Lock	0 13 06
	For haleing & towing since the Locks were made over the greatest part of 200 L. P Annu	1 15 00
Maye ye 14th 1709		<hr/> £4 14 06

Castleford 16th June 1709

Recd of Aldr. Gibson for the use of the undertakers of Ayre and
Calder the full contents of this bill, and of all damages done me
to the 14th May last,

Grace Greene

Witness
Jason Pinder."

(4) JOHN ROBINSON'S COMPENSATION.

The following receipt-note refers to the herbage of the mill-fold at Fleet Mills, on the River Aire near Oulton. The Robinsons, owners of Fleet and Rothwell Mills, were owners and occupiers of Westerton Hall in the township of West Ardsley during the last quarter of the seventeenth century (see W. S. Banks, "Walks about Wakefield", 1871, pp. 532-534, where details of the ownership history of the Mills are given).

Leeds the 1st Decr 1702

"Recd. of Mr. William Milner for acctt. of the undertakers for the River Ayre Two guineas being in full for herbidge for the milln fould att Fleet mills to this day, and I shall not for the future aske or require any furher damage of them for the herbidge of the said mill fould, witness my hand the day and year abovesaid £2 3 0

John Robinson."

(5) BEAL LOCK.

The Undertakers' efforts to control the natural flow of water in the rivers, and to raise the water-level in certain places where shallows and sandbanks obstructed navigation, inevitably resulted in considerable overflowing and flooding of the low lands adjoining the rivers, especially the River Aire. This was regarded by the landowners and public authorities of the early eighteenth century as a very serious matter. The following note, apparently written by a solicitor on Edward Thompson's behalf, alludes to flooding between Knottingley and Beal.

"Whereas ye Locke builed at Beale upon ye Rivers Air and Caldr. Causes ye Overflowing of ye Grounds belonging Edwd. Thompson of Murston Esq: Lyeing between ye sd. town of Beale and ye Lock formerly built at Knottingley, when ye River above ye sd. dam at Knottingley is Lower by a foot plumb watter then when it formerly used to overflow ye grounds between ye sd. Dams of Knottingley and Beale.

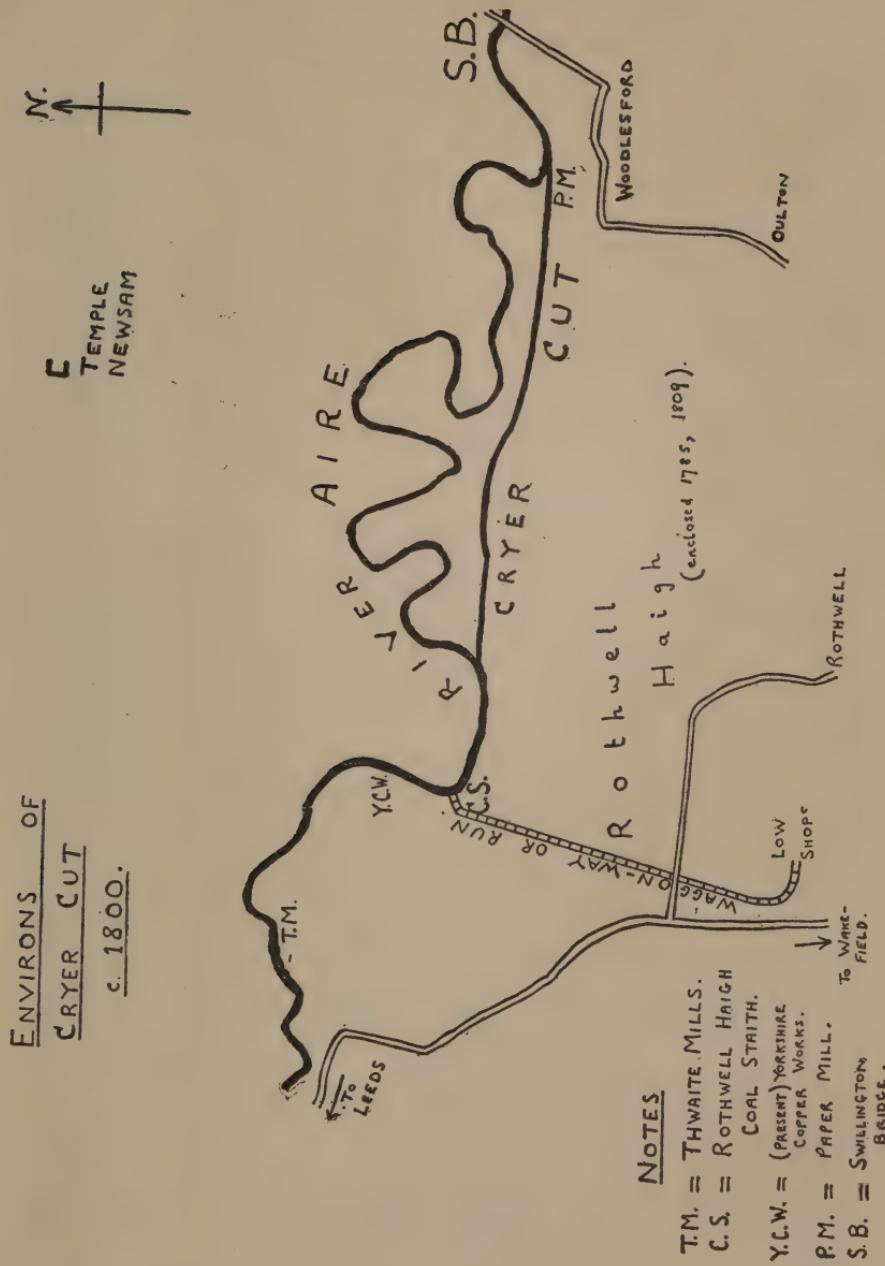
These are therefore to Certyfie whome it may Concern yt the sd. Edwd. Thompson doth Expect Such Satisfaction as ye Act of parliamt. directs and this he has Ordered me to certifie

Witness my hand this 29th day of June 1703.

Chas. King."

The Act of 1699 laid upon the Undertakers the obligation of raising and strengthening the river banks at all points where the danger of overflowing was increased by their operations. Compensation had to be paid for damage or loss as a result of flooding.

For permission to print these documents from the archives of the Aire and Calder Navigation, the author and the Society wish to tender their thanks to the British Transport Commission.



William Wilson, Mayor of Leeds, 1762-3

The first of the following documents forms part of a collection of manuscripts in the possession of the public library at Derby, by whose kind permission the Society is able to reproduce it. It was discovered by Dr. W. H. Chaloner, Senior Lecturer in Economic History at the University of Manchester, while engaged on researches into the history of the famous Derby Silk-Throwing Mill.¹ In his short account of this mill, published in *History Today*, vol. III (1953), Dr. Chaloner corrects the commonly received story of its history at several points, but does not deal with its fate after the death of its builder and owner, Sir Thomas Lombe,² in 1739. In that year the mill was bought from Lady Lombe by Richard Wilson, senior, of Leeds, and leased for a period of fourteen years from 1739 to 1753 through his son Richard, junior, to a partnership which consisted of another son, William Wilson, and Samuel Lloyd, merchant, of London. The documents at Derby range in date from 1739 to 1757, with the exception of the one printed here, but though some of them are dated from Leeds, they have no material reference to the town. The present document is in the handwriting of William Wilson, who was the fourth son of Richard Wilson, senior (1678-1761), Recorder of Leeds for thirty-two years. William was born in 1718, spent some time after 1739 as apprentice to a firm of English silk merchants at Leghorn, married Anne Pawson ("an agreeable Lady with a fortune of 20,000 £") on February 26, 1759,³ and died in 1764. Little else is known of his career apparently, except that he was chosen Common Councilman in September 1759, and Alderman in July 1761, was elected one of the Trustees for the patronage of the vicarage of Leeds in January 1760, and lived at Allerton Gledhow. His brothers Richard and Christopher are better known,⁴ and another, Thomas, will be referred to presently.

¹ Its importance in the history of industrial development in England is described by P. Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution*, for example; for a picture of it, see Mrs. George's *England in Transition* (Pelican ed., 1953), plate 12.

² See *D.N.B.* XXXIV, 195.

³ *Leeds Intelligencer*, February 27, 1759. Thoresby Soc., XXVIII, 110. The two appointments referred to are recorded in the same volume.

⁴ The Wilson pedigree will be found in Thoresby's *Ducatus* (2nd ed., 1816), plate at page 3. Some notes on the Wilsons are given in R. V. Taylor, *Leeds Worthies*. A full account of their activities, along the lines of Miss Brooke's paper on the Halls in this volume would be a valuable contribution to the history of Leeds.

EXPENSES AS MAYOR

The 29th of September (Wednesday) being Michaelmas Day 1762 I was elected Mayor of the Borough of Leedes in the room of John Blaydes, Esqr., after which, as is customary the Court adjourned to Mr Thos. Moxon's at the old King's Arms, where, as is usual, the old Mayor spends his guinea and the new Mayor his $\frac{1}{2}$ guinea £- 10. 6d.

Monday the 4th Oct: 1762 Mich.s Sessions adjourned to Mr. Moxon's where in the afternoon I was swore into the office of Mayor of Leeds.

Sent the Bell ringers of the Parish Church £- 10. 6.

Sunday the 10th October 1762 the Corporation attended me to the Parish Church in their Gowns.

Oct. Thos. Moxon's bill of expenses for this day ...	2	10	6
11th Paid Mr. Stacey for the Bellman and Dogwhipper's Stockings ...	8	0	
12 James Wainman the Hatter's bill for 3 Hatts at 8s. each & 3 silver buttons and hoops 3s. for the Bellman, Dogwhipper and my own Servt: Wm. Jowett ...	1	7	0
21st Wm. Dawson for 2 pair of Shoes for the Bellman and Dogwhipper ...	-	10	0
22d Spent at Moxon's after a Court held to chuse Mr. Sam.l Harper an Assistant of the Borough of Leedes ...	-	2	0
Nov. 6th Spent at ditto to chuse Mr. Harper an alderman ...	-	2	0
18th Thomas Moxon's bill of Dinner &c. at his house this day being the adjournment of the Michaelmas Sessions	5	17	6
Decr 9 & 10th Spent at two meetings, Militia and Turnpike attending as Mayor ...	10	6	
14. To Tryers and Searchers of Leather on adminstering their oath ...	2	0	
31st. To the Bellman's Widdow ...	2	6	
1763.			
Jan. the 10th. Thos. Moxon's bill for the Dinner at his House, this day, being the Epiphany Quarter Session for the Borough of Leeds, vide his Bill ...	20	3	6
10th To Rd. Wilson, Esqr: the Recorder his Quarter's salary ...	2	12	6
Hardwick the Taylor's Bill for making a Bellman's & Dogwhipper's Cloaks and 2 Cloaks for Stacey Lee and finding part of the materials as per Bill ...	10	0	0

Carried over 45 9 0

1763. Expenses brought over	£45	9	0
Feb. 21st. Expences at Moxon's on chusing Mr. Sam: Davenport an Alderman and Wm. Barks a Common Councillor	2	0	
24. Expences at Dto. at the Adjournment of the Epiphany Quarter Sessions	3	6	
March 8th. Expences at Dto. at Calling a Court (when we could not make up one) to chuse 2 Common Co. men	2	0	
April 11th. Thos. Moxon's Bill for the Easter Sessions, Dinner and his day at his house vide his Bill	10	16	0
June the 2nd Expences at Moxon's on the adj. mt of the Easter Sessions	3	6	
July the 9th Spent at Moxon's at 5 Petty Sessions to this day	5	0	
July the 11th. Thos. Moxon's Bill for the Midsummer Sessions Dinner this day at his House, vide his Bill	10	15	0
The Recorder Rd. Wilson Esqr. his Quarter's salary	2	12	6
August 25th Expences at the Adjournment of the Midsummer Sessions at Moxon's	6	6	
Sept. 29th Being Michaelmas Day chose Samuel Harper Esqr, Mayor Elect and adjourned to Moxon's, where as is customary the old Mayor spends his Guinea	1	1	0
Gave Town Clerk a moidore for his and the other officers fees on swearing me in Mayor &c. last year £1.6.6	1	7	0
Oct. the 4th. Mr. Thos. Moxon's Bill for the Michaelmas Sessions Dinner this day vide his bill	11	11	0
The Recorder Rd. Wilson Esqre. his Quarter's Salary	2	12	6
Paid Bro.r Rich.d Wilson for 19 Yards and a half of Livery Cloth for the Officers, See0ds [Searchers?] and [over?] coat a 4s. 8d. per yard	4	11	0
Other incidental charges of which I could keep no account & may amount at least to			
as allowances to officers for dinners on Gown Days &c		3	10
	£98	0	0

As a supplement to this document, the Society is fortunate to be able to print the following letter from the same hand, together with one from his brother Thomas. They were discovered by Mr. G. Ramsden in the course of his researches into the history of the Aire and Calder Navigation, some results of which are printed elsewhere in this volume, and are here given with the kind permission of the British Transport Commission, in whose archives they are to be found.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM WILSON TO HIS MOTHER

London ye 15th Janry 1740/41

Honoured Madam,

I received with Pleasure your kind Favour of ye 10th & had before deliver'd ye Ham to Mr. Lloyd who makes you his Complements & returns you thanks for it. I am very much obliged to you for your good Advice & as I am very sensible of ye regard you have always shew'd for me, that alone, was there no other Tye of Duty wou'd prompt me to follow it, but when 'tis back'd by a motherly Tenderness I must be a Brute indeed not to make it my Study to behave myself so as to continue your Affection towards me by observing your good Instructions wch thus far I hope to have done & hope, God willing, to continue doing. Your Tenderness expressed in your Letter for me merits more than I deserve, & 'tis no small disquiet to me to observe your Fears have made you imagine things to be much worse than they really are, For as to my taking new Lodgings 'tis true 'twas done at Mr. Lloyd's request, but we had no quarrell about it nor indeed have we had since, & what were ye Cause of all our Disputes were not Affairs of my own, but of all concerned in ye Bussiness, & therefore 'tis hard to be blamed by both Parties, however since my Brother is coming to settle Matters so soon, I hope every body will be pleased. I have taken Lodgings in Broad Street, at a Gentlewoman's House where are lodged 2 other Gentn, I board with 'em, but am in Devonshire Square Mornings & Afternoons where I sometimes dine and sup with Mr. Lloyd, & (we) behave to one another in ye same friendly manner as heretofore. I will not now go on enlarging on this Subject, since my Brothers Coming is so near, & can only say my Endeavours have not nor shall not be wanting to make every body content. You surprize us both by enquiring how long Kitt will stay in Town since he has not been here, nor did we know of his coming as yet. Pray be so good to inform my Father yt his Bills for £600 :- :- were duely paid, & yt ye Money received by Coz : Rayner's Pack was only £280 :7 :- & not £290 :7 :- as my Father mention'd in his Letter, wch £280 :7 :- with ye three Bills before received make ye Sum of £500 :- :- less 3s. wch I added to it for making ye Sum compleat. & now wishing you both in ys new Year all Health, Happiness & Prosperity, attended with many succeeding ones, brings me to conclude with telling you yt I am with great Truth

Honoured Madam

Your most dutifull & most obedient Son

William Wilson

My Love to my Bror. & Sisters.

LETTER FROM THOMAS WILSON TO HIS BROTHER,
RICHARD WILSON JUNIOR, IN LEEDS.

London ye 25th Decr 1740.

Dr. Bror.

I recd. your favour & have acquainted Billy what you say
abt ye 400 £ wch is to come up in a Pack of Jos. Rayners &
probably a Bill of 100 £ I'll supply 'em with money 'till it comes,
ye Place I mention'd for a Bookkeeper is Mr. Byrne a Portugal
Mercht. yt married one of ye Southcote's of York, I went to
him to-day & found him very ill in bed, but Mrs. Byrne tells me
she believes he has not got one yet & will acquaint him with it
& when he is better I shall have an Answer, wn I saw him last he
talkd of 40 or 50 £ a year, but ye Bookkeeper is to lodge out of
ye House & find himself with every thing I suppose, Billy is
got into his new Lodgings in Broad Street I hope we shall see
you as soon as you conveniently can, for you're much wanted
in Devonshire Square, Billy joins wth me in Duty & Love to
Papa, Mama & Sisters & wishing you all a merry Xmas & a great
many happy years I am

Your most Affect Bror

Tho Wilson

LEEDS POPULATION : ADDENDUM

In the table of Leeds population given above at page 177, the total for the year 1775 was provided from a variety of sources, with a note to the effect that the separate totals for Chapel-Allerton and Potternewton were not discoverable; they were given jointly, therefore, and totalled 1352. These separate totals, however, are to be found in an account of an "Excursion to Yorkshire" which Arthur Young printed in his *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. XXVII (1796); while they confirm this total of 1352, they serve to show that approximation is the best that can be hoped for in all the figures for 1775. They are:

"At Chapel Allerton, in 1778—109 families, 894 souls.

At Potter Newton, in 1785—97 families, 456 souls.

Leeds, in 1775, 4009 families, 17,117 souls.

Leeds and the capelries [sic], in 1775, 30,392 souls."

There is thus a difference of but two in the total as provided in the complete list, but different years are referred to; as the growth in population was not rapid in these places, the total for 1775 is not vitally affected. Young no doubt got the figures on the spot, and from the same sources common to the others; he visited Chapeltown and stayed with Richard Salusbury, whom he mentions by name, but it is not unlikely that he would also meet the gentlemen who made the statistical investigation referred to in the paper above. The brief information given above is all Young provides. This is curious; why should he select those two particular townships and omit the others? Did he assume the rest of the borough totals were known? At any rate he has satisfied the detective curiosity of the researcher.

ADDENDUM : p. 88, note on Plate V.

The source of this drawing, according to C. Driver, *Tory Radical* (New York, 1946), p. 531 (note on Chapter XVI, p. 178 ff.) is the *Northern Star* of January 12, 1837.

CORRIGENDUM, p. 210, "CONVEYANCING PRACTICE"

After Clause 3, read :

4. *Clause of warranty.* A guarantee by the grantor that he had a good title to the property and was willing to defend it if necessary. It stated that the grantor and his heirs would warrant and defend (warantizabimus et defendemus) the land against all men. This is a clause of general warranty. A warranty may also be specific, i.e. against certain people only.

INDEX OF PERSONS AND PLACES

INDEX OF PERSONS AND PLACES

Compiled by MISS M. F. LANCASTER

The small figures over the number of the page indicate the number of times the name is repeated on that page.

* Indicates that the name is repeated more than three times.

n Denotes that the name is in the notes to the page.

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